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CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE
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TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* WOMEN AS A MINORITY GROUP IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1975

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WOMEN AS A MINORITY GROUP IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

by

© MAUREEN BAKER

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1975

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Women as a Minority Group in the Academic Profession," submitted by Maureen Baker Archer in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses itself to the possibility of considering women academic staff members and doctoral students within predominantly male departments of a Western Canadian university as a "minority group." The irrelevance of traditionally "female" characteristics and skills for professional occupations is also indicated. A discussion of the inconsistency between the ideology of universalism and the role of "merit" in hiring and promotion, and the realities of academic particularism derived from the research findgins, includes some of the effects of this particularism on academic women and other minorities.

Case histories were obtained from intensively interviewing thirty-nine women in four academic categories--full- time teaching staff, sessional appointees, doctoral students, and former doctoral students who had formally withdrawn from their programmes within the past three years. These women were questioned concerning their educational and employment experiences, and their attitudes towards various aspects of their careers, and combining their careers and personal lives. Additionally, personal background information such as age, rank, highest earned degree, and marital status, was ascertained.

We found that a majority of the subjects felt that there was discrimination against academic women in the university, and that their sex was a disability in their occupational lives. Women with a lower academic rank were more likely to perceive this discrimination than were those who had a higher rank, and they could often cite instances of

salary and promotional discrimination and particularistic decisions which negatively affected women. These women who perceived discrimination also made dissatisfied comments concerning the heavy load which women usually carry in the division of labour within the family and the socialization of female children.

Women with a higher rank, however, tended to "rationalize" these discrepancies between the sexes by blaming the women involved for their "unprofessional" behaviour, their lack of commitment to the profession, or by stating that they "chose" to have a family rather than concentrating fully on a career. These essentially high-ranking women, who supported the status quo, were viewed by the author as a barrier to change within the profession. However, a very small minority of women in the sample felt that they could affect any change either within the profession or in the larger society. Thus, we remain rather pessimistic about radical alterations to the structure of academia or to the status of women within university teaching.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the members of my thesis committee--Dr. Arthur K. Davis, Dr. Anthony Fisher, Dr. A. S. A. Mohsen, Dr. Margrit Eichler, and especially to Dr. Rosalind Sydie--for the direction they provided in carrying out and completing this dissertation.

The women who made available their personal career histories for the data of this project should receive particular thanks for donating their time, information, and interest.

Appreciation is also extended to John Archer for his patience and assistance throughout.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the Study

Attention has been focussed in the field of minority--majority group relations on racial, religious, and ethnic minorities, essentially because relations in these areas have been perceived as sources of social conflict and friction. This conflict stems from clashes between our allegedly "universalistic" norms and particularistic practices, and is based largely on power relations. However, since the increasing public awareness of the Women's Liberation Movement, social scientists are once again drawing parallels between the economic and social status of women and other "minority groups," as for example Gunnar Myrdal did with his parallel between women and American Blacks. Myrdal stated:

> As in the case of the Negro, women themselves have often been brought to believe in their inferiority of endowment. As the Negro was awarded his "place" in society, so there was a "woman's place." In both cases the rationalization was strongly believed that men, in confining them to this place, did not act against the true interest of the subordinate groups. The myth of the "contented women," who did not have suffrage or civil rights and equal opportunities, had the same social function as the myth of the "contented Negro." In both cases there was probably--in a static sense--often some truth behind the myth (1944: 1077).

Since Myrdal's analogy between the social situation of women and American Blacks, few social scientists had studied gender stratification until the late 1960's. Systematic investigations of the attitudes and relative performance of women working within a predominantly male occupational group have been neither common in sociology, nor always considered to be theoretically relevant to the study of minority groups.

Definitions of "minority group" may vary but their essential feature is the group's unfavourable position in the reward system. Arnold Rose (1971) presented the following definition: A group is a minority group if it is the object of prejudice and discrimination and if the members think of themselves as a minority. Louis Wirth (1945) stated that ". . . a minority group is any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination." Although not all authors use self-perception of discrimination as a defining characteristic of a minority group, we feel that it should be included, as one's definition of the situation can certainly alter behaviour to a great extent. From the above definitions, it appears that a group must not only be in an unfavourable position in the reward system (from some third person's viewpoint), and be numerically underrepresented, but must also be collectively aware of this predicament in order to be labelled a "minority group." This last criterion is the most significant.

Women are not generally included in a discussion of minority groups.[1] primarily because they are said to lack a distinctive subculture, lack group identification, and are dispersed throughout the population (Streib, 1968). However, we feel that biological sex and its accompanying culturally defined appropriate roles could be perceived as disabilities if they are found to affect one's occupational prestige, power, and resulting professional rewards. Furthermore, perception of these disabilities could lead to the development of minority group characteristics.

In the present study, power has been defined as the ability to secure one's ends in life, even against opposition (Tumin, 1967: 12). We should also clarify the concept "prestige," by which we mean honour involving deferential and respectful behaviour (Tumin, 1967: 25). By "professional rewards," we are referring in the context of the study to such things as salary increments, movement to a higher rank, election to the executive of professional associations, obtaining honorary degrees, acceptance into elite academic societies, and the receipt of research funds.

In recent years, it has been emphasized that there are considerable similarities in the economic position, attitudes, and the position in the power structure between women and other groups which are often alleged to receive unequal treatment to White Anglo males. For example, Andreas (1971) emphasized that the sex structure of the United States is a caste system similar to the racial stratification system. Helen Hacker (1951), Weisstein (1969), Ann Davis (1969), and Pamela Madsen (1972) have all used the analogy between women and Blacks, specifically in terms of their high social visibility and their similar stereotypic characteristics. As a consequence of these stereotypes, both women and Blacks maintain a low economic and occupational position; both categories tend to possess common feelings of self-hatred; and both have had to contend with social and legal barriers barring their access to certain favoured educational and occupational positions (Simpson and Yinger, 1953: 147, 173). However, studies employing the minority-group concept to depict the status of women have not escaped criticism from other social scientists. Some of the criticisms are delineated below.

One important difference between women and other minorities is that women's attitudes and self-conceptions are conditioned largely by interaction with both minority and dominant group members (Hacker, 1951). Social distance scales have been used as a measure of the integration of minority groups with the dominant society, and of feelings of equality about the minority group on the part of the dominant society. Marriage has been used as a measure of minimum social distance, so that willingness to marry implied feelings of equality, despite comments such as those of Blau (1964: 76-87) regarding differential power in the initial courtship stage.

Marriage may imply the integration of women into the dominant male society, but does not necessarily imply that the partners perceive each other as equals. In fact, inequality is written into the Canadian marriage and divorce laws in terms of reasons for marriage, rights and duties, and the "nature" of the sexes (Zuker and Callwood, 1971).

Segregation on the basis of sex has never been as controversial as segregation on the basis of race or religion, and has never been so complete. There are no sex counterparts to racial ghettos. Rather, present-day sexual segregation tends to be voluntary, as in religious orders, or only partial, as in such occupations as law and engineering. However, women have been prevented from entering those occupations which were considered to be 'unsuitable' for them until they fought for their admittance. Women have also been relegated to the less prestigious positions within particular occupations and denied access to rewards

(Epstein, 1971; Henshel, 1973). In other words, women--once admitted to the more favourable occupations--tend to be limited to the junior levels.[2]

It has been argued that because women are often unaware of being discriminated against as a category, and because they generally have accepted the propriety of differential treatment (Hacker, 1951), they cannot therefore be classified as a minority group (Hacker, 1951; Abu-Laban and Abu-Laban, 1973). Women as an aggregate are not numerically a minority and are frequently not of the opinion that differential treatment of the sexes is unwarranted. Nonetheless, in most professional occupations, women have minority group status because they have less access to professional rewards and power (Robson and Lapointe, 1971; Astin, 1969; Rossi, 1970). Furthermore, recent studies indicate that professional women especially are conscious of their disadvantageous position and feel that their lower status is unjustifiable (Senate Task Force on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta, 1973; Perrucci, 1970; Ferber and Loeb, 1973). The Women's Liberation Movement has certainly heightened the awareness of many women to their lack of access to financial rewards and power. It is the awareness that one is a member of a disadvantaged group which characterizes a "minority group."

The percentage of women working within such professional occupations as law, medicine, dentistry, and university teaching in Canada has remained extremely low[3] despite legislation on the part of both federal and provincial governments to equalize access to higher education and to positions of authority. The Federal Public Service, in an attempt to combat sex discrimination, opened all job competitions in the federal government to both men and women. In 1956, the federal government passed the Female Employees Equal Pay Act to attempt to legislate the practice of equal pay for equal work.

The Canada Student Loans Programme was initiated in 1964 to enable those who formerly could not afford to acquire a post-secondary school education to continue their studies. Canadian women have increasingly participated in this programme and there is no evidence of sex discrimination in the awarding of loans.[4] Yet the proportion of women continuing beyond the bachelor's degree diminished noticeably, so that 34.2 per cent of bachelor's degrees are awarded to women, twenty per cent of master's degrees, and only eight per cent of doctorates. The proportion of female graduate students in Canada is increasing slowly, but has not yet attained the level at which women participated in the 1920's and 1930's.[5]

However, official policy and common practice are certainly not always consistent. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada received briefs from countless women who stated that anti-discrimination laws to protect women were not being enforced. In fact, there is reason to believe that such laws are unenforceable.[6] Women are still found to be clustered in the lower echelons of the labour force and frequently receive lower salaries for doing comparable work to that of men (Royal Commission, 1970).

Much of the attention of those social scientists who have written on the status and occupational participation of women has been carried out in the United States and has centered on professional women (Bernard, 1964; Astin, 1969; Rossi, 1970; Epstein, 1971; Theodore, 1971; Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971). Only a few such investigations have been carried out in the Canadian context (Judek, 1968; Robson and Lapointe, 1971; Archibald, 1973; Ostry, 1968; Canada, Women's Bureau, 1966). Most of the Canadian literature concerns itself with statistical trends in the employment of all women in this country, rather than the status of women in a particular profession.

Because of the paucity of Canadian data concerning professional women, and because of the fact that differences certainly exist between Canadian and American educational systems, cultural heritage, and legal structure, valid generalizations cannot be made about women in Canada from the available data concerning professional women in the United States. In addition, many of the previous studies of academic women were statistical surveys which could not investigate in depth the sorts of questions asked in intensive interviews.

Aim of the Present Study

The aim of the present study is to examine the feasibility of viewing academic women within predominantly male departments of a university as a "minority group." Through the use of case studies, we uncovered some of the factors which contribute to the minority group status of these women. We have defined "minority group" as a group of people who are singled out for differential treatment because of physical or social characteristics, and who regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination (Wirth, 1945). Therefore, this study is more concerned with self-perception of discrimination and differential treatment than with attempting to "prove" that such discrimination exists. For that reason, no comparisons with males are necessary.

We feel that the role expectations for "feminine persons" in our society are irrelevant and contradictory to the job requirements of university professors in this country. This factor, in addition to the structure of academia and various particularistic standards within the university, works to the disadvantage of women scholars and contributes to the minority group status of academic women. Furthermore, these "contributors" to the lower status of academic women are socially located in a society in which the exploitation of women is not entirely unacceptable and is perpetuated by a number of social institutions. But awareness of this lower status and a feeling that the differential treatment which academic women receive is unwarranted are the crucial factors in viewing these women as a minority group.

The "fit" between the job requirements in academia, as they are presented by both the incumbents and in printed material, and the ideas regarding the roles considered to be suitable for "feminine" persons in Canadian society was examined. It is suggested in this study that traditional academic roles and the traditional feminine role are incompatible.

Although the concept of "feminine" has been used to refer to biological female characteristics, we shall use it as a set of personality characteristics which have been found in the research of Maccoby (1966) and Komarovsky (1946) to describe North American female children and to differentiate between the sexes. When the personalities of North American boys and girls are compared, it has been found that females are generally more dependent, passive, and emotionally expressive. However, these attributes occasionally become stereotypes, in that people make the assumption that if many girls have these characteristics then all girls necessarily do. These personality characteristics are attributed to females solely on the basis of their biological sex rather than on the basis of their 'true' behavioural characteristics. In other words, 'femininity' is a cultural rather than biological definition in this context, and is a multi-dimensional concept including both displayed behavioural characteristics and those which are cultural expectations for females. The reasons for the multi-dimensional nature of the concept and the effects of this stereotyping are discussed further in Chapter Six.

Investigations were carried out at a provincial university in Western Canada, at which a sample of faculty members and graduate students[7] were interviewed to provide case histories of their careers. The focus of inquiry was the possibility of considering women in academia to be a minority group in terms of receiving fewer academic rewards for comparable efforts and having less access to power within the occupational group.

Although from previous studies (Bernard, 1964; Robson and Lapointe, 1971; Rossi, 1970) we have some indication that women are clustered in the lower echelons of the academic profession, we have little indication from the literature that they are conscious of themselves as a minority group receiving different treatment on the basis of the ascribed characteristic of biological sex and its accompanying imputed personality characteristics. Yet, the increasing number of task forces and special committees to investigate the status of women in various universities and professional associations in Canada[8] is some indication of the growing 'minority group consciousness' among these women.

These investigations are usually initiated and carried out by concerned professional women.

In the present study, causal factors for the relative position of women academics will be sought in roles, values, ideologies, norms, and the power structure of university life and Canadian society in general. We are also interested in how women university teachers made this 'atypical' career choice, and what factors in their personal histories led to the development of a professional career.

Although we have referred to census data, historical events, and personalistic episodes throughout this study, we are primarily concerned with "norms" and "expectations" which are revealed either directly by the women interviewed or through an interpretation of their behaviour and verbalized attitudes.

Survey of the Literature

Despite the volumes of feminist literature written in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only a few publications concerning women specifically, or the questions of role differences in gender, have received acknowledgment by social scientists. Because social scientists, who are primarily male, have defined the social structure as a predominantly male phenomenon,[9] they have considered the position of women in various roles in terms of their association with men rather than through their own accomplishments.[10] Women have received, at best, only a cursory glance in scholarly research.

Some volumes written by women about women have nevertheless been recognized as making a significant contribution to our understanding of sex roles. In the now classic The Second Sex (1949), Simone de Beauvoir states that women generally have been coerced into occupying a secondary position in society in relation to men by strong social forces of education and cultural tradition, rather than inherent characteristics. These forces have affected the freedom and independence of women, and the power differential has had a vitiating effect on sexual relations between men and women. De Beauvoir wrote one of the most comprehensive volumes on women, discussing women's historical and contemporary situation in Western civilization.

The writings of Margaret Mead, especially Sex and Temperament (1935) and Male and Female (1949), did much to emphasize the malleability of the human personality and to stress the influence of cultural expectations on sex roles. Through her anthropological studies in New Guinea and various other non-industrialized cultures, Mead exorcized many of the previous notions that innate sex differences were responsible for different personalities and a division of labour based on sex. However, only in the last few years has this research received extensive attention in the social sciences.

During the 1960's, far more research was initiated on the 'status of women,' particularly their lack of political representation and the clustering of women in low status, low paying jobs. In 1963, Betty Friedan published her controversial book The Feminine Mystique, which, as a best-seller, gave great momentum to the resurgence of the Women's Liberation Movement. Friedan states that the belief that women could be and were being 'fulfilled' solely through their role within the family is a myth created by men and has detrimental consequences for the self-images and accomplishments of American women. She documents many instances of malaise among American women, indicating that dissatisfaction with the female sex role is far more widespread than was previously thought. She suggests a redefinition of the concept of 'femininity' to emphasize the abilities and accomplishments of women and to encourage women to make long-range plans for their careers. She also includes concrete suggestions of structural changes which would enable women to be mothers and have careers at the same time.

A series of commissions and task forces was initiated during the sixties, both in Canada and the United States, to investigate the various aspects of women's participation in public life. This has been a trend which has continued into the seventies. Several Canadian universities are in the process of, or have just completed, studies of the relative position of women on their staffs. For example, the universities of British Columbia, Waterloo, Manitoba, Toronto, Queen's, McMaster, York, Windsor, Saskatchewan, and Ottawa have investigated the status of their female staff. The University of Alberta has recently organized a Senate Task Force on the Status of Academic and Non-Academic Women and expects to have the research completed in 1974. Professional associations have also set up committees to study the status of women within their profession. For example, the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association has organized such a committee.[11]

Several studies have been completed on the academic profession, but most of these make only passing reference to the fact that there _are_ women who work as university professors. Logan Wilson, in _The Academic Man_ (1942), virtually ignores the presence of women as faculty members in universities. On the other hand, Caplow and McGee, in The Academic Marketplace (1958), make specific reference to certain discriminatory practices which affect the careers of female academics as well as other minorities. For example, Caplow and McGee state:

> Women scholars are not taken seriously and cannot look forward to a normal professional career. This bias is part of a much larger pattern which determines the utilization of women in our economy. It is not peculiar to the academic world, but it does blight the prospects of female scholars (1958: 194).
>
> Discrimination on racial and religious grounds is a luxury in the hiring process which seems to be practised only when there is a surplus of candidates of quality. . . . Women tend to be discriminated against in the academic profession, not because they have low prestige but because they are outside the prestige system entirely and for this reason are of no use to a department in future recruitment (1958: 95).

Caplow and McGee discussed how personal characteristics become the basis for discriminatory treatment, with specific mention of gender as one of the most frequently used criterion. They further mentioned that religious discrimination has worked against certain groups in various parts of the United States, particularly as a selective factor in the pre-doctoral stage and to a limited extent in the initial hiring stage (1958: 194).

Discrimination further exists on the basis of race, particularly in past decades in the United States. Despite the fact that the proportion of Blacks in 1970 in the United States was about eleven per cent (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971), only a token representation of Blacks have been employed as university professors, especially in major institutions (Caplow and McGee, 1958: 194). "Separate but equal" colleges have been established for both women and

Blacks and have hired a large proportion of minority group graduates. However, more recently, the proportion of Blacks hired as university professors has increased. The introduction of the "Affirmative Action Program" has forced American universities to produce evidence that they have attempted to hire a woman or minority group member before hiring a White Anglo male. At the risk of losing government funding, many universities have conceded (Jackson, 1973: 3).

Caplow and McGee further mentioned discrimination on the basis of political affiliation as a form of particularism in the university. This has been a much-discussed topic in the United States, especially in the early 1950's when so-called "Communists" were evicted from their academic posts.

Caplow and McGee mentioned other discriminatory decisions based on personal mannerisms or personality factors. They included comments received from interviews concerning arbitrary chairmen who exercised inconsistent power over his faculty members. These situations in which personal power is used are seen as disturbing by those university teachers who accept the ideology that they are members of an autonomous company of scholars, subject to no evaluation but the judgment of their peers. However, with the present trend towards a publicly financed university, viewing faculty members as an "autonomous company of scholars" is no longer a realistic conception. One could go even further than Caplow and McGee and suggest, as did Silverstein (1972), that academia is most conservative about hiring anyone considered to be "unorthodox."

Caplow and McGee (1958) stated that certain features of the university system accentuate unfair treatment among professors regardless of the fact that the university is committed to the ideal of advancement by merit. In a community of scholars, scholarly performance is the only legitimate claim to recognition (1958: 192). The academic marketplace as a system rests on the assumption that the worth of a man can be measured through the quality of his published work, but that his publications are seldom read thoroughly. They are frequently only perused (1958: 109).

But the most striking inequalities arise out of the prestige system itself. Unfortunately, the initial choice of graduate school sets an indelible mark on the student's career, even though the choice of school on the part of the student may be made almost at random. They state that every discipline can show examples of brilliant men with the 'wrong' credentials whose work somehow fails to gain normal recognition (Caplow and McGee, 1958: 193).

Caplow and McGee stated that in any large organization the distribution of power generally conforms to the ladder of rank and authority and is supported by the formal assumption that rank and ability are closely correlated (1958: 176). This kind of arrangement cannot occur in the university because of the double system of ranking in which the university confers the rank, but disciplinary prestige is awarded by outsiders and is therefore beyond the control of the university. Disciplinary prestige has the higher value among university faculty (1958: 177).

Caplow and McGee, perhaps somewhat tautologically, stated that power is distributed in such a way that anyone who is able to exercise it may do so if he chooses. The product of this system is the university 'strongman' who converts his prestige, either disciplinary or local, into authority by enlisting the support of the men around him. Tenure is one protection that faculty members have against the capricious use of power. Women, however, seldom have tenure and are unlikely to be awarded power by outsiders. This system of loose-lying power helps to account for the extraordinarily high incidence of conflict within universities and frequently reported dissatisfaction by academics with university government (1958: 178).

Caplow and McGee do not elaborate further on the position of women in academia, but explain this position by women's lack of mobility. They indicate that university departments generally attempt to hire reputable scholars who will attract graduate students and other faculty, or young scholars who appear to have a "bright future." These criteria are difficult to achieve for many women, partially because they are less likely to be geographically mobile than men because of domicile laws, more likely to have closer ties with the parental family, and responsibility for children. If mobility is one factor affecting bargaining power as Caplow and McGee found, then married women are definitely at a disadvantage in competing with men for advancement and prestige. Further, informal policies of hiring through 'old boy ties,' narrow definitions of suitable candidates for academic positions, and fears of unorthodoxy prevent both married and unmarried women from being hired as university professors. Many male academics are married to traditional wives and view their female colleagues as a threat to the role allocation within their own families.

Women as University Professors

Jessie Bernard, in Academic Women (1964), partially substantiates Caplow and McGee's conclusions concerning women scholars by indicating that women frequently occupied what she calls a 'fringe-benefit status' in which they are hired as part-time or sessional appointments while their husbands have higher prestige full-time positions. Bernard also indicates the impact of nepotism rules on faculty wives and states that women who are hired are more likely to be teachers of large undergraduate courses rather than teachers of smaller graduate courses or researchers. They also tend to earn lower salaries than their male counterparts and are more likely to be clustered in the lower echelons of the profession.

Bernard (1964) collated the findings of previous studies, some of which were done prior to or just after World War II, and also participated in and directed several studies of her own. However, some of these had such small samples that their validity can certainly be questioned.[12] Yet, Academic Women still remains the source-book for most of the research done on this topic, as it is a most inspiring and comprehensive collection of research. Because of the paucity of studies which were completed at the time Bernard wrote, she was able to answer only tentatively some of her original questions, such as "What is the effect on learning of the sex of the transmitter of knowledge?" or "What is the effect of the sex of the innovator on the acceptance of ideas?" These questions concerning the 'sociology of knowledge' are rather crucial when examining the position of women in institutions of higher learning.

In her attempt to remain ethically neutral, Bernard understates many of her points. In the foreward to Academic Women (1964: xi), Ben Eumena writes ". . . this book is unusually free of the crusading spirit . . . I feel that a degree of intelligent crusading is definitely in order." He continues ". . . . For despite the findings here reported, the career woman does still suffer from discrimination: certain departments will hire no women at all; others will not promote women to the higher academic posts. . . ." Contrary to Baran's (1969) view of the intellectual as a social critic, Bernard attempts to not offend her colleagues by playing down the problems that women reported in this profession.[13]

In 1969, Helen Astin published an essentially descriptive survey of women who had previously been granted Ph.D degrees in the United States. In the Woman Doctorate in America, Astin examined the career patterns of these women in order to investigate the validity of the common belief that, no matter how capable or talented, a women will terminate her career to get married and have children. She attempted to assess how the talents of professionally trained women are utilized in America and to identify some of the personal developmental characteristics and later environmental experiences that affect the performance and achievement of women. Astin found that only nine per cent of these women were not employed at the time of the survey, that women Ph.D's were older than their male counterparts when they received their doctorates, that they came from upper-middle class backgrounds with small families, that the overall marriage rate is very low compared to the general population, and that those women who were the most professionally active were the most likely to report instances of sex discrimination.[14]

Although this publication presented interesting information concerning the careers and family lives of women within this category of educational attainment, the theoretical insights or explanations of the relative position of women compared to that of their male colleagues are limited. Astin did point out that the female children of professional families are the only women encouraged to pursue careers and that single-sex educational institutions provide role models for upper-middle class women.

In 1971, sociologist Cynthis Fuchs Epstein published Woman's Place--Options and Limits in Professional Careers in which she discussed the relations between ideology and the conception of women's roles in American society and the structure and processes of professional careers. She utilizes American census data from 1960 and previous years, attempting to form generalizations concerning all professional occupations. She delineates those aspects of the structure of the professions which affect women, stating that many occupations in American society have been sexually segregated or sex-typed.

Sex-typing affects sex-ranking, so that the higher prestige and remuneration are given to the 'male' fields, and tends to be a self-perpetuating process, operating in a manner similar to a self-fulfilling prophecy.[15] Epstein also indicates that the sponsor-protege system in professional circles works to the disadvantage of women. Men are less likely to sponsor women because they perceive them as being less "committed,' less likely to follow in the sponsor's footsteps, and often fear that colleagues or their spouse will assume that there is some sexual involvement between sponsor and protege which could lead to disconcerting scandals. Epstein also refers to the "club context" of informal interaction within certain professions whereby significant professional decisions are often made informally. This was far more prevalent in the days when men's clubs were more popular, but still operates now as a barrier to the equal participation of women and men in colleague groups.

Within the past five years, a number of journal articles have appeared of special concern to the present project, especially the studies of Davis (1969), Fava (1960), LaSorte (1971), Lewin and Duchin (1971), Rossi (1970), Simon, Clark, and Galway (1967), Perucci (1970), Guyer and Fidell (1973), Robson and Lapointe (1971), and Patterson (1971). The majority of these studies concluded that sex alone is a determining factor in lower salaries and rank for women, that women are clustered in low status colleges rather than universities, and that they publish less than men do.

However, Simon, et al., refuted this last statement by showing that sex per se was of less importance than institutional setting in influencing the 'productivity' rates of university teachers. They indicate, as do others, that the controversies concerning whether or not women academics are less productive than their male counterparts can be partially attributed to the fact that 'productivity' is frequently defined as publishing--to the neglect of teaching, committee work, consulting, and student counselling. Bernard (1964) found, for example, that women were more frequently given large undergraduate teaching loads, and were more student-oriented than were males.

These findings would tend to indicate that if 'productivity' is defined in a way that favours those activities in which men participate more frequently, then women are going to appear less productive than they really are. This, we feel, is a significant aspect of the academic value system that needs to be examined in more detail.

An investigation of the correlation between highly rewarded 'male' activities and poorly rewarded 'female' activities may indicate that women in academia are expected to pay a high price for their success. They may be required to give up those aspects of their professional careers which their female colleagues value and be 'co-opted' into the male value system in order to be considered 'successful' by the male majority. On the other hand, it may be that those women who are attracted to an academic career are already oriented towards traditionally 'male' definitions of success. These are questions which relate to the 'professional commitment' of academic women and will be investigated in the present study.

Minority Group Status

In 1951, Helen Hacker applied the minority group perspective to women's generally disadvantaged position in society. She viewed the two criteria of awareness of discrimination and the collective belief that the differential treatment is unwarranted as necessary for inclusion within the category of 'minority group.' Sex socialization, according to Hacker, prevented women from perceiving their minority group status in that they are generally socialized to accept their position with the belief that differential treatment of men and women is 'natural.'

Nevertheless, Hacker did refer to women as possessing a 'minority group status' because they shared with other racial and ethnic minorities a certain self-hatred, their own subculture, job and wage discrimination, legal discrimination, discriminatory socialization practices within the family, and discrimination relating to social conduct.

When Hacker wrote this article, women's 'consciousness' had not yet been 'raised' concerning their own position. Yet the increasing number of investigations into the status of women, particularly in universities, and the increas in 'women's studies' courses may indicate a growing feeling of collective consciousness. This may indicate that women, and particularly women within a predominantly male occupational group, are becoming much more aware of their minority group status than they were in the fifties.

Recently, there has been some criticism regarding the use of the concept 'minority group' with reference to women. Some sociologists have indicated that the term has been used in varying ways and thus its precise referent in unclear (Streib, 1968; Newman, 1973; S. Abu-Laban and B. Abu-Laban, 1973). There have been numerous disagreements on the defining characteristics of minority group status.

Streib (1968) has stated that women could not be considered a minority group because they lack a distinctive subculture, they are dispersed throughout the population, they lack group identification, and they have a stronger social class than sex identification. However, Hacker suggested that women do have a tendency towards a separate subculture, that women's voluntary associations certainly operate as if it were true that men and women have different interests and values.

Women's beauty parlours, dress stores, and the Women's Liberation Movement operate on the assumption that there are sex differences in interests and norms. This sex role identification overrides social class in many instances. In legal situations, for example, the laws pertaining to women affect all women regardless of class background. However, this is a very "loose" definition of "subculture."

Despite the criticisms against the use of the term 'minority group' to refer to women, the fact that women share with racial and ethnic minorities certain characteristics mentioned by Hacker (1951) indicates that the application of this concept may be used to draw some parallels in the social situation of all subordinate groups, and for that reason is of theoretical value.

In the present study, the term 'minority group' is also used to refer to women, but more specifically to a group of women in a numerical minority within a predominantly male profession. Recent articles concerning the perception of sex discrimination among faculty women (Astin, 1969; Ferber and Loeb, 1973; Task Force on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta, 1973) indicate to us that academic women are more likely to behave as traditional minority groups and have a group consciousness than are women in general. They are numerically in a minority and have been shown to receive fewer professional rewards (Robson and Lapointe, 1971).

Sex Roles

The term "sex role" has been rarely defined in the sociological literature and generally lacks clarity as a construct. It has been used to refer to observable behaviour, the expectations for behaviour, and also the norms for behaviour (Angrist, 1969). It has been noted by Gordon (1966) that "role" has three separate foci according to the main fields which have utilized the construct. He suggests that the respective anthropological, psychological, and sociological meanings are position, behaviour, and relationship. For example, in Linton's (1945) classical definition, widely used in anthropological field studies, the positional meaning dwells on sex as ascribed and tied to age groups. It was concluded by Angrist (1969) that sex role-as-position meaning is difficult to apply to less structured settings where expectations are not largely consensual and organized, and behaviour is not normatively based.

The view common in social psychological approaches assumes the universality of sex differences, and that culturally elaborated biological characteristics are the basis for polar behaviour and attribute models (Angrist, 1969). Angrist finds the behavioural focus "operationally tidy," but questions the validity of universal sex role behaviour measures without regard to other impinging characteristics, especially the social setting.

In the sociological approach, the setting for role-taking is relevant and specified. Sex role grows out of self-development during the socialization process. From interacting with others, the individual discovers and interprets behaviour, continually revising roles. But the problem arises in delineating all the features pertinent to the comprehension of the relationship between the role-taker and others in the context. Angrist concludes that ". . . sex role epitomizes some difficulties: the many definitional stances, fuzzy empirical referents, and over-emphasis on delimited social arenas for studying roles. Sex role singularly suffers from absence of specific definition--its meaning is connotative instead of denotative" (1969).

Angrist felt that the construct "sex role" may be seen as involving four basic elements: label, behaviour, expectation, and location. She emphasized that a sex role is a whole set of roles or a "role constellation," and that individuals judge, and are judged, by multiple criteria or a complex bundle of characteristics. However, one role can become dominant either temporarily or in a particular context and can thus supercede other more latent roles. Sex, as a dominant role, modifies, sometimes weakly, whatever social interaction or relationship a person is engaged in.

Implicit emphasis on the life cycle approach in family studies has led to the elision of sex role and family role so that concentration has been on marital roles and the family of procreation, to the neglect of the role constellations of married people. Angrist emphasized that the role constellation approach in studying sex roles is valuable in that it provides a workable solution to the location problem and emphasizes the normality of dealing with numerous and changing demands and performance of a wide repertoire of behaviour.

Before examining expectations and behaviour involved in female sex roles, we will first survey some of the literature which discusses the origins and development of sex roles in general. This will indicate that role expectations and behavioural patterns are deeply ingrained in the personality by adulthood and thus are resistant to change or modification.

In a study prepared for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, entitled Sex Role Imagery in Children: Social Origin of Mind, Lambert (1971) attempted to answer the question of where people, especially children, get their ideas about sex roles. By "sex roles," he referred to what it means psychologically and socially to be a man or a woman, a girl or a boy. It was his assumption that the behavioural differences between the sexes are manifestations of more basic psychological differences.

Lambert included 7500 children, aged ten to sixteen years, in his study, mailing questionnaires to subjects in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia. The mothers of two-thirds of the children also completed the questionnaire. The dependent variable of the study was "Sex Role Differentiation," which was given four dimensions,[16] and each aspect of this construct was measured by a number of items whose applicability to each of the sexes was indicated by the respondents. The various independent or explanatory variables were assessed through multiple-choice type answers (1971: 18). Because Lambert's sample was relatively heterogeneous in that he included various age and language groups of children as well as the parents of these children, clear-cut conclusions are difficult to extract. However, some general findings can be reported.

In general terms, Lambert found that the mothers who stereotyped the sexes most definitively were less likely to be educated, were older, and came from a lower social class. He indicated that women from the lower social classes who lacked formal education tended to be very 'traditional' in the division of labour in their family and in their perception of personality or psychological differences between the sexes. This traditionalism was especially evident among the French-Canadian respondents, and seemed to diminish with exposure to formal education. There was also a positive correlation between parental role differentiation in the family and the sex role differentiation of the child, so that the greater the division of labour between mother and father and the more the parents differentiated between the sexes the more the children also made this distinction.

Lambert also found that boys were more disposed to discriminate between the sexes than girls, and that boys who shared noticeably in the distribution of power within the family tended to sex type more than boys who had little power. Further, there was a clear tendency on the part of subjects who were involved in essentially sexually segregated interaction to perceive greater personality differences between the sexes (1971: 35-36). Children were more certain about the meaning of masculinity and femininity when they thought in terms of potential jobs or relations to other people than when they thought in terms of personality dispositions.

In other words, Lambert's study indicates that sex role imagery originates essentially within the structure of the family. The behaviour of the parents in this respect is more influential than their verbalized attitudes. Children appeared to choose their age-mates according to this imagery. He concluded: ". . . . If sex makes a difference in the organization of the family, then it will make a difference in the thinking of the children" (1971: 43).

A study commissioned by the Alberta Human Rights Branch (Cullen, 1972) indicated that school textbooks in the province of Alberta generally portray girls as passive and less productive than boys. Girls were frequently stereotyped as housewives, teachers, mothers, or librarians, whereas the main character in an adventure story was more likely to be a boy. Girls and their activities seemed to be confined to the house and yard, while the boys have the world for their playground.

Many of the most serious cases of sex stereotyping are found in the Social Science Resource Units for Teachers, published by the Alberta Department of Education. A Grade one unit explicitly states the duties of the family: "Mother cooks, washes clothes, reads to the children, and does many things for Father. Father works and earns money." The Grade five Resource Unit is slightly less explicit, yet it credits men with settling Alberta, ranching, founding towns, exploring, and developing the educational system, and omits the activities of the pioneer women of the West. Health textbooks portray illustrations of male doctors, dentists, and eye specialists, and show women only as nurses, calling them "Doctor's Helpers." In the unit which discussed the importance of being a Canadian, only illustrations of males appeared. Science textbooks show illustrations of male doctors, scientists, farmers, hunters, and pioneers, but the only illustrations of women were in domestic roles. Thus, many of the role models which are presented to the youth of Alberta in their school textbooks have been shown by Cullen's study to over-emphasize women's domestic roles, omitting their contribution to other realms of society. Studies in Ontario and Saskatchewan have revealed similar tendencies in school books.

It has been suggested by Dager that female children experience conflicts in their socialization because they perceive that the female role is not valued as highly as the male role. With regard to female children, he states that:

> Although she initially sees the mother's sex role as containing the most power, as she increases in age she begins to perceive the father's sex role as being more powerful and she sees herself as having less power than a sibling brother. . . (1964: 758).

Generally, there is evidence in the literature that both sexes rate male characteristics more highly in North American society than female characteristics. For instance, a study by Broverman and Broverman (1970) found that in response to a sex role questionnaire, professionals in clinical psychology ". . . assigned a mentally healthy adult and a mentally healthy male the same characteristics, but a mentally healthy female was seen as passive, emotional, dependent, less competitive, nonobjective, submissive, and more easily influenced," characteristics which were also assigned to a mentally unhealthy adult.

A study by Komarovsky (1946) had indicated that women college seniors commonly faced mutually exclusive expectations in their adult sex roles. She felt that up until adolescence, the family and educators confront the young girl in North American society with strong pressures to excel and to develop certain techniques of adaptation similar to those expected of her brothers. Later, it is precisely those who are the most successful in this earlier role who are penalized in adolescence and adulthood when women are expected to play down their individual achievements and concentrate on developing personal relationships. Komarovsky felt that many college girls in the 1940's perceived the roles of 'homemaker' and 'career girl' as mutually exclusive and felt that they had to make a choice between one or the other. The uncertainty and anxiety which this caused the girl was viewed by Komarovsky as a personal manifestation of a "cultural contradiction," or a discrepancy in cultural expectations.

Recent studies by Matina Horner (1968, 1970, 1972), in which the author has attempted to develop a theory of achievement motivation which pertains to both sexes, indicated that success is regarded as a mixed blessing for a woman in that she is often socialized to see achievement as unfeminine. "Achievement" in her studies is defined as receiving good grades in college and as acquiring a professional occupation. In projective tests given to male and female college students, she found that about sixty-five per cent of the females, as compared to ten per cent of the males, provided stories with "fear of success" themes.[17] She grouped these fear of success stories into three kinds of responses: those with affiliative concerns or fear of being socially rejected as a result of academic or occupational success; stories which showed guilt or anxiety about one's femininity as a result of success; and a denial of any effort or responsibility for the success.

Horner (1972) found that the situation was reversed among her Black sample, so that Black men were more likely to give stories including fear of success themes than were Black women. Horner comments, ". . . . It has become quite clear from the various samples tested that one's disposition to accept success as a truly positive experience, enhancing self-esteem is by and large a function of how consistent this success is with one's internalized standards and expectations, one's stereotypes, of appropriate sex and/or race role identity and behaviour." She continues:

> Our data show that despite a recent upsurge of interest in the "liberated generation" or the counterculture stressing the removal of unfair prejudices and boundaries of all sorts, conceptions of race and sex roles in particular are so deeply ingrained and historically rooted that they have remained rigid. Thus, despite recent advances in legal and educational opportunities, they psychologically bar many young men and women from taking full advantage of these changes. At any rate, for most Black men and White women, the attainment of success and/or leadership is seen as an unexpected event, making them the object of competitive assault or social rejection [in Bardwick (ed.), 1972: 63].

Horner noted that the "motive to avoid success," as she calls it, was more likely to be aroused in high achievement-oriented, high ability women, rather than low achievement, low ability women. She also noted that this "motive" increased with age from childhood to adolescence, as potential "success" draws nearer. If Horner's research is valid,[18] females may in fact be more anxious than males in achievement-oriented testing situations because for them not only are negative consequences, and thus anxiety, associated with failure but also with success. Horner's research (1968) indicated that women generally, and particularly those who are high ~~in the~~ "motive to avoid success," will explore their intellectual potential to the fullest only in a non-competitive setting, and least of all when they are competing with men (1968: 11).

Summary

This brief review of the literature concerning the position of women in university teaching and female sex roles has been admittedly sketchy, but has revealed several trends. In the first place, the study of sex-based inequalities has not been considered a theoretically relevant topic within social stratification or the study of minority groups until after the topic had been perceived as a "problem" in popular literature. The rejuvenation of the women's movement in the United States encouraged further research from social scientists who previously had overlooked the status of women and gender stratification in North American society.

Second, the literature on the female sex role remains plagued with conceptual problems. Because the concept of "sex role" lacks clarity and has been defined differently within the various disciplines that have claimed it as a relevant concept, studies of sex roles have been criticized as "vague" and "over-generalized."

The present study is concerned with gender stratification within a male-dominated profession--university teaching. We are particularly concerned with the perceptions of their own professional status held by women university professors and the "fit" between professional roles and sex roles. After setting out the boundaries of the present study, we will examine the results of previous studies of "academic women." The majority of these studies are surveys of the comparative salaries and rank of male and female university professors, generally lacking in theoretical perspective or orientation. However, before we can elaborate further on considerations of the minority group status of women, we must first place this study in an historical perspective. An examination of some of the reforms affecting the status of women in Canada will be followed by an overview of women in higher education on this continent.

Footnotes to Chapter One

[1] In the Cumulative Index to the *American Journal of Sociology* (1895-1965, 1965-1970) under the heading of "minorities" there is no reference to women.

[2] In essence, sex-typing within certain occupations, whereby one sex is prevented from entering the field, could be viewed as a type of ghetto, as could the middle class suburban household during the daytime. However, we feel that because this segregation is temporary it is less severe than racial housing ghettos and therefore not exactly analogous.

[3] *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa), 1970: 79; Canada, Department of Labour, *Women at Work in Canada*, 1964.

[4] Royal Commission, 1970: 178.

[5] *Ibid.*.

[6] Slight changes in job description are sometimes used to make the jobs of men and women *sound* different. Many reasons can be manufactured to justify not promoting females, because "competence" can rarely be objectively measured and is frequently undefined.

[7] Women who had full-time appointments, sessional appointments, or who were doctoral students or former Ph.D students who had withdrawn from the programme, were intensively interviewed. These women were all at the University of Alberta in 1974 or had been doctoral students during the period of 1971-74.

[8] Some of the universities are listed on page 12. Some professional associations with investigations into the status of women include the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Canadian Association of University Teachers, The American Sociological Association, to name but a few.

[9] See, for example, Joan Acker, "Women and Social Stratification: A Case in Intellectual Sexism," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, Number 4 (January 1973); and Betty Frankle Kirschner, "Introducing Students to Women's Place in Society," in the same journal.

[10] For example, the basic unit of stratification is the family, and the definition of the position of women in the family is based entirely on that of her husband or father (see Acker, *op. cit.*).

[11] "Status of Women," *CSAA Bulletin*, February 1974, Number 32: 1.

[12] For example, see *Academic Women*, Appendix B: 251-62.

[13] Bernard later criticized herself at a meeting of the American Sociological Association for her formerly conservative interpretation of her data.

[14] This is contrary to the findings of the present study, as well as that of Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne (1973).

[15] Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press), 1949: 421-36.

[16] The four dimensions which Lambert used were: behaviour, authority relations, jobs, and traits (feminine role). For a detailed discussion of these dimensions, see Lambert (1971: 16-18).

[17] Horner's sample contained ninety females and eighty-eight males.

[18] In an article in the March 1974 edition of Psychology Today: 82-85, David Tresemer criticizes Horner's research for a number of essentially methodological reasons. For instance, he feels that Horner's original sample of 178 undergraduates was too small to merit any generalization. He further attacks her "subjectivity" in scoring, stating that there was no extensive scoring manual with sample stories for making sure that the coders rate the stories alike. He claims that Horner exaggerated the "fear of success" imagery, as he recoded her results and found no differences between the sexes on "fear of success." He also mentioned that Lois Hoffman (1972) repeated Horner's research and found that males were higher on "fear of success" than were females. Part of the problem, as Tresemer sees it, is lack of consensus of what "success" is. Generally, Horner's research has received a lot of publicity and has been widely accepted by female scholars of sex role socialization.

CHAPTER TWO

SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

Some Legal, Political, and Social Reforms Affecting the Status of Women in Canada

Although one could go back many centuries when discussing the cultural tradition of women, we shall mention only those influences which directly affected women in Canadian society.

Despite the fact that there have always been those who were outspoken about social inequalities and the subordinate position of women,[1] a number of social trends and ideologies, particularly in Britain and France, brought the question of woman's nature and rights to the forefront during the nineteenth century.

Numerous writers have viewed the Industrial Revolution as a major event in the restructuring of the family as well as the role of women in the family and society (Goode, 1963; Neff, 1966; Leslie, 1967; Labarge, 1971; to name but a few). In fact, when girls and married women left the domestic sphere to labour long hours in British factories, concern was aroused about the neglect by mothers of their homes and children, the adverse effect of factory conditions upon the health and childbearing abilities of women, and, generally, the moral and spiritual degradation which would result from women's employment outside the home (Neff, 1966: 37-44).

One result of the employment of women in the British factories in the nineteenth century was a new system of home management. The home lost most of its productive function. Many feared the break-up of the home as a social unit and the dissolution of the family as a result of women's new financial independence (Neff, 1966: 50-51).

As a result of the visibility and sheer numbers of women within the British textile industry, pressure groups were able to force legislators to reduce the working day from twelve to ten hours, despite the prevalent laissez-faire philosophy of the evil of government regulation in industry. This is only one of the indications that conditions for working women, and later political and legal rights for women, as with many extensions of "human rights," were gained not through reasons of 'justice' or egalitarian ideologies, but because it was politically expedient. This was particularly evident when women were granted the right to vote in certain western states and the federal vote in Canada.[2]

Reforms that concerned women were largely related to industrial needs or the preservation of the Victorian view of the family. These reforms were not initiated with the interests of women as individuals in mind.

The Women's Rights Movement became a social issue in Europe, and shortly afterward in North America, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and was supported essentially by upper-middle class males and females (O'Neill, 1969; MacLellan, 1971: 13; Henshel, 1973: 126; Cormack: 61). As the movement is said to have been initiated by Olympe de Gouges as early as 1789 in France, and Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 in Britain,[3] and because variations of this movement are still being strongly perpetuated today, it has been called "the longest revolution" (Mitchell, 1966).

In the United States, the democratic idealism of the second quarter of the nineteenth century awakened women to their legal incapacities and social barriers. The democratic humanism of the times encompassed a number of 'causes,' such as temperance, the abolition of slavery, prison reform, abolition of imprisonment for debts, reform in mental institutions, reduction of the work week through the efforts of organized labour, and attempts to improve the standard of living (Schlesinger, 1926: 76-79). Although the period was one of agitation rather than accomplishment, women did gain certain rights in America, such as entrance to some institutions of higher education[4] and control of their own property in a number of states (Schlesinger, 1926: 75).

Both the French and the American Revolutions created a widespread awareness that certain social groups, including women, held an inferior legal and political status. In the French situation, women revolutionaries has assumed that the ideology of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" would also pertain to the condition of the female sex, and a number of feminist organizations developed from the aftermath of the French Revolution, despite the ultra-conservatism which followed in the form of the policies of Napoleon I (Labarge, 1971: 21).

After the French Revolution, Napoleon I attempted to restore the stability of the family unit which he felt had been endangered during the revolution, and in doing so made very father a small-scale emperor (Labarge, 1971: 20). His personal attitudes towards women was of great importance in French-speaking countries because it influenced the

Napoleonic Code--a code of law which has been accepted in France until recently and also in those colonies whose law stems from hers, such as Quebec. The following comment by Napoleon shows his disdain for women:

> They (women) ought not to be considered as being on an equality with men, for they are, in reality, only machines for bearing children. . . . Woman is our property . . . she bears us children. . . . the wife is his property just as the fruit tree is the property of the gardener. . . . To women belong beauty, grace, and the art of seduction, her obligations are dependency and subjection. . . (Kircheisen, n.d.: 1953-55).

Because of Napoleon's personal view of women, supported by popular opinion of the day, the complete subjection of married women was written most specifically into the law (Labarge, 1971: 20). However, most of the legal incapacities of women which were embodied in the Code were due not to gender but rather to marital status.

In 1857, the decision was made to codify Quebec law after the pattern of the French Napoleonic Code. From 1866, when the Civil Code of the Province of Quebec was drawn up, until about 1931, the legal status of married women in that province underwent no major changes. It is interesting to note, however, that between the years 1809 and 1834 women in Quebec could vote if they fulfilled certain property qualifications, even though the political participation of females was generally frowned upon (Johnson, 1971: 17). The question of female franchise was taken up in the Assembly in 1828 and 1834, but it was not until 1849 that women were positively excluded from suffrage by law. The freedom to vote in Quebec "was based on the absence of a law limiting the suffrage rather than on any authority granted by legislation" (Johnson, 1971: 17).

It was not until 1940 that women could again vote in provincial elections in Quebec, and not until 1965 that married women could own their own property, control their own bank accounts, and share the guardianship of their children (Johnson, 1971: 36; Nunes and White, 1972: 33). These legal disabilities influenced the acceptability of women's participation in the professions. For example, the first woman to be accepted to the bar in Quebec occurred in 1941 (Johnson, 1971: 29), whereas in English Canada women were accepted as lawyers as early as 1897 (Royal Commission, 1970: 165). It was in French Canada that the struggle for political equality for women came closest to being a fight (Cleverdon, 1950: 4).

The Canadian Suffrage Movement

The Canadian suffrage movement, initiated as early as 1876 in Toronto by Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, was inspired by the suffragists in the United States and Great Britain. However, militant tactics, such as those used in Britain by the Women's Social and Political Union at the beginning of the twentieth century, were largely absent from the more conservative Canadian movement. Women in Canada concentrated on lecture tours, newspaper articles, petitioning the government, and educating females on political matters (MacLellan, 1971: 13; Cleverdon, 1950: 4).

The Canadian movement adopted the American concern for the prohibition of liquor, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union solidly supported political equality for women. Those women involved in the suffrage movement had the additional support of the United Farmers Women's Auxiliary, The National Council of Women, and the Women's Institutes (MacLellan, 1971: 15; Cleverdon, 1950: 10-14).

Opponents of the suffrage movement confronted the women with a number of arguments, most of which seem outmoded today. For example, they claimed that women were organically too weak to withstand the elections. Women did not have the mental capacity to comprehend political issues. It was further claimed that woman's suffrage was against Biblical teachings, that it would destroy the harmony of the home, and lead to a decline in the birthrate. Enfranchisement would "unsex and degrade" women. People claimed that women did not need the vote, as they could "achieve more by loving persuasion." Furthermore, it was claimed that women did not want the vote and would not use it once they got it (Cleverdon, 1950: 5-7).

These anti-suffrage arguments were combatted through statistics and satire. Nellie McClung, a leader in the suffrage movement, made great use of satire to embarrass politicians and others into heeding her arguments (Cleverdon, 1950: 9). Suffrage advocates argued that as taxpayers women had a right to form social policy. "No taxation without representation" became a well-used slogan once again. The plea for simple justice remained a powerful argument, but it was also thought that women could favourably influence political concerns relating to moral issues.

With women's contribution to the war effort in 1914 came the argument that ". . . exercising the vote would train them (women) for a higher sense of social and civic responsibility, broaden their interests, and generally make them better and more useful citizens" (Cleverdon, 1950: 11). To many Canadians, women's contributions to the war effort had won them the right to participate in the nation's future policy-making.

Political equality was ordinarily first attained on the local levels, where women were permitted to vote for school trustees and municipal officials. However, these privileges were often restricted to unmarried women (Cleverdon, 1950: 5).

Although the foundations of women's political equality in Canada were laid in Ontario (Cleverdon, 1950: 18), the provincial vote was first won on the Prairies--in Manitoba--largely due to the efforst of Nellie McClund (MacLellan, 1971: 16). This parallelled the trend in the United States, where women in several western states were granted political equality before the turn of the century.[5] In Canada, the vote was first won in the West, then in Ontario and British Columbia, with the traditionally conservative Maritimers remaining apathetic or unsympathetic to women's suffrage for several more years. Quebec, with its legal and religious tradition, did not grant women the provincial vote until 1940.

The federal vote and the right to sit in Parliament were won in stages, and, as with most extensions of the franchise, the motive behind each stage was to win political support for the government in power. The Military Voter's Act in 1917 which enfranchised soldiers and sailors in the Armed Forces also enfranchised those women, mostly nurses, who were also in the Armed Forces. Later in the same year, women with close relatives in the Armed Forces were enfranchised because Sir Robert Borden's Conservative government wanted to ensure its return to power in the forthcoming election and support for its military conscription (Nunes and White, 1972: 32).

In 1918, it was a logical step to extend the franchise to all those remaining women in Canada who had the same qualifications as the enfranchised males (Royal Commission, 1970: 337). Although there is no doubt that the members of the suffrage movement played a significant role in making votes for women a political issue, the politicians chose to ignore their demands until it became politically expedient to act upon them.

The suffragist movement in Canada was led by women drawn from a small minority of professionals or self-employed women or the wives of men with some economic independence (MacLellan, 1971: 13; Cleverdon, 1950: 4). Throughout the movement, advocates of political equality were confronted with opposition from members of their own sex as well as men.

Although women were enfranchised in 1918, a further political barrier remained. According to the British North America Act of 1867, "Any qualified person may be summoned to the Senate." However, no woman had been appointed on the grounds that it was uncertain as to whether or not they could be legally classified as "persons." When this position was contested by five women from the Province of Alberta (the most famous being Emily Murphy, Canada's first woman magistrate), the reply came back from the Supreme Court in 1927 that women were not "persons." When this decision was appealed, it was concluded in 1928 that women could be considered legal persons and therefore could be summoned to and become members of the Canadian Senate (Royal Commission, 1970: 338-39).

The Married Women's Property Act had been passed in 1870 in England, and women could consequently own and administer their own separate property and enter into legal contracts. Ontario was the first province in Canada to pass a similar act in 1872, but other provinces were less anxious to extend to women this right. For instance, Alberta did not pass such an act until 1922 (MacLellan, 1971: 4).[6]

Labour Force Trends

These essentially legal changes in the status of women in Canada have been accompanied by other economic and social changes. For example, there has been a remarkable rise in the labour force activity of women in Canada over the course of this century. In 1901, the participation rate of women in the labour force was just over sixteen per cent, compared to about thirty-four per cent in 1970 (Royal Commission, 1970: 54).

The greatest increase in the labour force participation of women has been demonstrated among middle-aged and older married women. In 1941, the participation rate for married women was about four per cent; by 1951 it was eleven per cent; and by 1961 it was over twenty-two per cent of the labour force (Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour, 1966: 6). The emergence of the two-phase work cycle--in which the participation rates of married women reach a peak at twenty to twenty-four years and then decline, with a second peak at ages thirty-five to forty-four--was apparent in the 1961 census. This phenomenon was apparent in the United States a decade earlier.

However, despite these changes in the proportion of women in the labour force, it still remains highly segregated on the basis of gender. Women are clustered in fewer jobs than are men, but to a lesser extent than at the turn of the century. For example, in 1901, ninety-four per cent of gainfully employed women were clustered in five major occupational categories, and in 1961, about eighty-five per cent of employed women were in five job categories.[7] Women tend to either dominate an occupation numerically or to make up only a tiny fraction of its numbers. For example, in 1961, ninety-seven per cent of stenographers were females and ninety-six per cent of graduate nurses were female. On the other hand, ninety-nine per cent of the clergy, ninety-seven per cent of lawyers, and ninety-three per cent of physicians and surgeons were male in 1961 (MacLellan, 1971: 10).

Another trend in the Canadian labour force has been the long-run stability of the proportion of women in the professions. By professional occupations, we are referring to occupations based on specialized intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a fee or salary (Vollmer and Mills, 1966: 4). It should be noted that women have traditionally been clustered in what Etzioni (1969) referred to as the "semi-professions"--nursing, school-teaching, and social work--rather than the more prestigious "full professions" such as law and medicine. In 1901, fifteen per cent of the female labour force was engaged in professional occupations, whereas in 1961 only sixteen per cent was in this category. The proportion of the male labour force engaged in the professions, while smaller than that of women, has doubled between the same years from five per cent of the male labour force to ten per cent (Canada, Department of Labour, 1966: 40-41).

The greatest increase in the female labour force over the past century has been in the clerical occupations--clerks, typists, bookkeepers, stenographers, bank clerks--where it is interesting to note that earnings have decreased relative to other occupations.[8] Generally, in the Canadian and American labour forces, the proportion of clerical and professional workers has increased with the enlargement of white-collar jobs through automation and increasing technology. Concomitantly, proprietary, managerial, commercial, and financial sectors of the economy have decreased, leading to what Johnson (1972) referred to as "proletarianization-through-automation." Women have taken over the routine clerical jobs which have been newly created, but rather than using them as stepping stones to management positions have remained the "proletariat" of the labour force.

Women on the average earn about one-half the amount that men earn even when they are employed full-time for fifty to fifty-two weeks per year. Table One indicates the sex ratios in annual earnings in Canada in 1961.

The Edmonton Social Planning Council, in its Task Force on Women in the Albertan Labour Force (1974), found similar discrepancies between the earnings of males and females. For example, they found that women form ninety-seven per cent of the labour force of those jobs which pay less than $5,000 per annum, but in the occupations in which people are paid more than $10,000 per year, only one per cent of the workers are female.[9] Women's jobs are the lowest paid in the labour force. In job areas where the pay is low, there are a large number of female single-sex occupations (telephone operators, bank tellers, nurses), but as the salaries increase the number of female single-sex occupations decrease.[10] The task force concluded that 'progress' for the status of women in the labour force is still largely a myth and that women still form a large supply of cheap labour for public and private industry.

Table One

Average Earnings[1] of Women and Men Full-Time Workers,[2] and Percentage Difference in Men's over Women's Earnings, by Occupation,[3] Canada, 1967

Occupation	Average Earnings		Percentage Difference Men's over Women's Earnings
	Women	Men	
Managerial	$3732	$8784	135.4%
Professional and Technical	4928	9222	87.1
Clerical	3623	5548	53.1
Sales	2292	6096	166.0
Service and Recreation	2147	4741	120.8
Transportation and Communication	3495	5575	59.5
Farmers and Farm Workers	-- [4]	3080	NA [5]
Craftsmen, Production Workers, etc.	2988	5916	98.0
Labourers	-- [4]	3476	NA [5]

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[1] Earnings include wages and salaries and net income from self-employment.

[2] Those workers who reported having worked 50 to 52 weeks.

[3] Individuals were classified according to their jobs at the time of the survey in April 1968.

[4] Too few women in the sample to provide reliable figures,

[5] NA--Not available.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Consumer Finance Research Staff, Income Distributions by Size in Canada 1967, Catalogue Number 13-534 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970): 55-56. (Also cited in Women in the Labour Force 1971, Facts and Figures: 75).

It is interesting to note that provinces such as Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland still have lower minimum wages for females supported by provincial law (Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970: 77). However, this would only partially explain the salary differentials in Canada. The greatest barrier to the equality of the sexes in the labour force seems to be the sex-typing of particular occupations, so that women are clustered in the low-paying jobs, especially in the clerical and service category. Nevertheless, when women do the same jobs as men, they are usually paid less for doing the same work (Royal Commission, 1970: 75; Edmonton Social Planning Council Task Force, 1974: 9). Equal pay legislation is extremely difficult to enforce because employers can alter the job description slightly for men and women. Also, women are frequently reluctant to complain about wage discrimination because they are afraid of losing their positions and rarely have the collective support of a union (Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970: 61).

Whatever the explanation for lower average salaries for female workers, the fact remains that occupational segregation and sex-typing reinforces and perpetuates rigid ideas concerning suitable roles for both sexes. When individuals or groups of people attempt to break through this 'sex barrier,' they are often confronted with opposition, discrimination, or just indifference. It is perhaps the indifference which is the most difficult to document or verify, yet I believe that many potential female recruits to professional occupations are discouraged because of the fact that the expected skills and characteristics of the professional role occupant are irrelevant to the skills and characteristics which females are socialized to have. This point will be further elaborated in Chapter Six when the inconsistencies of professional roles and sex roles are discussed. However, some of the factors that contribute to these inconsistencies may be illustrated through an examination of the history of formal education in Canada, and the reaction of educators to the education of women.

Feminism and Formal Education

Formal education has frequently been recognized as the key to the improvement of the status of women, yet equality of opportunity, especially in institutions of higher education, did not come easily to women. In seventeenth and eighteenth century France, the education of girls was widespread but did not emphasize intellectual pursuits. For the lower classes, girls were taught to support themselves. In the upper classes, they were instructed in household management (Labarge, 1971: 16).

In Victorian Britain, the education of lower class girls was viewed as a disadvantage, as "learning to read made a woman discontented" (Neff, 1966: 57). The middle and upper class girls were often educated at home by a governess, partially because of the shortage of schools for girls and partly because it was "the respectable thing to do" (Neff, 1966: 152-53). Financial necessity often led daughters of 'ruined gentlemen' to become governesses, but this occupation received little material reward and in reality was often a period of servitude rather than a profession (Neff, 1966: 157). Upper class women were given a 'smattering' of languages, music, art, and literature--more to enable them to carry on polite drawing-room conversation and to be interesting wives and mothers than to prepare them for any career.

The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote about the education of women in his paper entitled A Treatise on Education:

> The whole education of women ought to be relative to men, to please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honoured by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to make life sweet and agreeable to them--these are the duties of women at all times and what should be taught them from their infancy.[11]

Rousseau further stressed the complementary nature of the two sexes: "Nature has made men and women different to suit them all the better for each other. The one is active and strong, the other is passive and weak" (L'Emile, v.4). For this reason, Rousseau felt that men and women should receive a different sort of education. "Once it is demonstrated that men and women are not, and ought not to be, constituted alike in character or in temperament, it follows that they ought not to have the same education" (L'Emile, v.25). He stressed the importance of a domestic education for girls, emphasizing the duties of wife and mother and the stability of the family (W. Boyd, 1963: 242-43).

Rousseau's ideas of education for females were consistent with the views concerning women's role in eighteenth century Europe, and continued in both Europe and Britain until the mid-nineteenth century (Miller, forthcoming). A similar view of formal education for females was imported to the North American continent. Although there were certainly opponents to this conception of female education,[12] it nevertheless remained a dominant philosophy which pervaded the American and Canadian school systems until well into the twentieth century.

Although the Canadian and American frontiers may have effected more social participation for women and earlier entrance to institutions of higher education,[13] education for girls did not become a controversial issue until the mid-nineteenth century. At that time, leaders of the feminist movement stressed the importance of higher education for women who were entering the labour force in increasing numbers (Schlesinger, 1926: 316) and who were demanding the right to vote and contribute to formulation of social policy. The great reform movements in the United States in the 1840's, which were involved with abolition, temperance, prison reform, and labour organization, were also concerned with women's rights, including the right to receive an education equal to a man's. However, among those who advocated abolition, there was still opposition against higher education, increased political rights, and, generally, the public participation of women (Korngold, 1950: 136-39).

Although a number of women's colleges opened in Eastern United States as early as the 1820's and 1830's, co-education in the United States began in Ohio, when Oberlin College in 1833 and Antioch College in 1853 allowed women to enroll as students (Schlesinger, 1926: 75). The University of Iowa was the first state college to admit women, in 1858, the same year that Mount Allison University in New Brunswick admitted females (Royal Commission, 1970: 164). However, eastern American universities and elitist Canadian universities[14] hesitated to admit women, so that women in the eastern United States began to institute "separate but equal" women's colleges. For instance, Vassar was established in 1865, and by the end of the 1880's, the northeastern women's colleges known as the "Seven Sisters" were in operation (Jencks and Riesman, 1968: 302).

These women's colleges were generally modelled after the elite men's colleges and created a demand for the services of academic women.

The women who taught in these colleges from the 1870's to about 1900 were aware of themselves as innovators and enjoyed great distinction. The teachers in these colleges were women with 'causes'--reformers--and the humanities were the foci of their concern (Bernard, 1964: 31).

In the late nineteenth century, the co-educational land-grant colleges of the West presented a different orientation to higher education. These were local colleges emphasizing service rather than reform, science and technology rather than the humanities. By the turn of the century, the number of such colleges had increased dramatically, offering courses in agriculture, home economics, and generally stressed educating students for jobs rather than for the sake of learning.

By 1930, the proportion of female graduate students and faculty reached a peak in the United States (Bernard, 1964: 36-37) as it did in Canada (Royal Commission, 1970: 168). Once the pioneers had established the ability of academic personnel to staff and run high-quality colleges, their presence no longer drew special comment. The glamour of those early days had passed as had the ability to attract young women to the profession.

From 1930 to 1960, there was a decline in the proportion of women both as students and professors in North America. This trend has been partially attributed to the Depression during which working women were perceived as taking away men's jobs (Bernard, 1964: 37); the 'post-war baby boom' which emphasized familial values' and changes in such motivational factors as the relative attractiveness of alternative careers, especially marriage. Government employment, for example, has been a common channel for professional women, who may prefer more regular hours than the university setting offers, and also has accepted women employees more frequently than have universities (Epstein, 1971). Whatever the reasons for the decline in the proportion of female graduate students and faculty members, this trend was apparent in both Canada and the United States.

Formal Education in Canada

In pioneer days, girls were less likely to attend school than were boys, as had been the custom in Western Europe. In the upper classes, girls were educated largely to accept matrimony, adopt Christian morals, and to value the social graces of the day, whatever their eventual role in Canadian life. Women of the higher classes were educated for a life of dependent leisure. Generally, the attitude toward educating women of all economic backgrounds was to prepare them to become better wives and mothers (Neff, 1966; Royal Commission, 1970: 164; Jencks and Riesman, 1968: 200, 291). Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, women were thought generally incapable of intellectual self-discipline and rigour, and the attempt to impose rigourous intellectual discipline upon them was thought debilitating to both body and mind (Jencks and Riesman, 1968: 291).

Formal Education in Quebec

In French Canada, the Ursuline nuns established a boarding school for girls from all social classes as early as 1642. About sixteen years later, the "Congregation de Notre-Dame" was founded by Marguerite Boureoys, and she established the first in a series of schools for girls with a strong emphasis on reading, writing, arithmetic, prayers, and Christian morals. By the end of the eighteenth century, the number of literate females was said to exceed the number of literate males (Royal Commission, 1970: 162). However, the intent of educating women in Quebec again seemed to be to enable them to become better mothers or, if single, to practice charitable or religious works. There was apparently little intention of educating women to enter the professions.

The religious orders played a significant role in the education of women in the Province of Quebec, but the Catholic normal schools for women generally received less government support than the normal schools in which men were trained. In 1857, the first normal school for the training of teachers was established in French Canada in Quebec City, and it had a separate section for girls under the authority of the Ursuline nuns. A men's normal school was opened in Montreal in the same year, but it wasn't until 1899 that one was constructed for women. A coeducational school in the English language was also opened in 1899 in Montreal, but classes and subject matter in the English school were segregated on the basis of sex. The rationale for this practice was that the association of the sexes was conducive to immorality (Phillips, 1957: 382).

The first classical college[15] for women was established in Montreal in 1908 and the second in Quebec City in 1925. Until 1960, these colleges were denied support from public funds which have always been granted to the classical colleges for men. Thus, it was only the privileged women who could afford to pay the tuition fees.

A large network of government-subsidized Family Institutes, which were schools of domestic science designed to train girls to be good housewives, was established in Quebec, but these have been gradually closed since 1961--a reflection of the changing image of women in French Canada.

In 1910, the University of Montreal became the first French language university in Quebec to grant a Bachelor of Arts degree to a woman. But it was not until 1960 that all the faculties of French language universities were opened to women.

The professions in Quebec were also reluctant to admit women. A woman was accepted by the Quebec College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1930, and another received a law degree from McGill in 1914 but was not admitted to the bar until 1941. Women were admitted to the Chamber of Notaries in 1955, but it was 1961 before they were granted the right to practice as a notary (Royal Commission, 1970: 164). Generally speaking, then, women were permitted to study before they were allowed to put their knowledge to any practical use.

The teaching profession has been one profession that was open to women relatively early in Quebec's history. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the teaching profession had become one of the few acceptable occupations for a 'young lady,' and an increasing number of women entered this field. The number of women increased from 4776 to 6766 while the number of men increased from only 1146 to 1335 between 1876 and 1888 (Royal Commission, 1970: 162-63). There was a general trend for public education at this time, and as women had very few occupations to choose they clustered in the teaching profession. Not only were the wages in the teaching profession about equivalent to that of domestic servant, but women earned less than half the amount paid to men for comparable work.

Formal Education in English Canada

Although women in English Canada were sometimes employed as teachers before 1850, it was difficult for them to be admitted to normal schools. At the time of Confederation, subsidies for education were paid according to the number of students attending school. In Ontario, girls were counted as a half a student (Royal Commission, 1970: 164). Females were admitted to secondary schools but were taught in segregated classrooms. When a female applied to a teacher's college in New Brunswick in 1849, she had to obtain an Order in Council from the Lieutenant-Governor before she was allowed to attend classes. In addition, she was requested by the principal of the school to wear a veil, to enter the classroom ten minutes before the other students, sit alone at the back of the room, retire before the lecture ended, and leave the premises without speaking to the male students (Royal Commission, 1970: 164). After this initial resistance to the enrollment of women, they were admitted to all normal schools in Canada by 1867.

Co-education in universities was delayed long after higher education for women was given approval by university administrators. One official in the universities stated:

> I do not propose either that the young women should attend the ordinary college classes, or that, except in special cases, the ordinary professors should lecture to them. I would have special classrooms, and in many instances at least, special lecturers appointed by the university.[16]

As early as 1858, Mount Allison University in New Brunswick admitted women to classes and in 1875 was the first university in the British Empire to grant a Bachelor of Science degree to a woman, Grace A. Lockhart. Other Canadian universities began to follow suit by allowing women to become students: Dalhousie in Halifax in 1882, McGill in 1884, and, after much opposition, the University of Toronto in 1885. Queen's University in Kingston had admitted women to certain restricted classes in 1869. In 1884, the Ontario Legislature had voted to make the University of Toronto co-educational, and five women who had been taking examinations, but had not been permitted to sit in classes, emerged in the first graduating class in 1885 (MacLellan, 1971: 7). By 1920, the number of female students had reached one-sixth of the enrollment of Canadian universities.

The medical profession resisted the acceptance of women until the 1880's. Dr. Emily Howard Stowe had received a medical degree in New York in 1868 because she was refused admission to the University of Toronto on the grounds that "it would make discipline too difficult" (MacLellan, 1971: 8). She practiced in Toronto without a licence because she was not a member of the Ontario College of Physicians and Surgeons (and she could not become a member without attending a Canadian medical school, none of which would accept women). Finally, in 1880 she was granted a licence to practice. Her daughter Augusta received a medical degree in 1883 and became the first woman doctor to study and graduate from a Canadian university. Soon after graduation, she married a fellow student and they became the first husband-and-wife team to practice medicine in Canada. Augusta was also heavily involved in the women's suffrage movement in Canada, as was her mother (MacLellan, 1971: 9).

In 1891, a woman applied to the Benchers of Ontario for admission as a student-at-law but was refused admission. Later, the Attorney-General acted on her behalf and established the right of women to be called solicitors. Yet it was not until 1897 that women could be called to the Ontario bar, at which time Clara B. Martin became the first woman lawyer in the British Empire (MacLellan, 1971: 9). By 1923, all provinces except Quebec allowed women to practice law.

The history of women in science and engineering was marked by a few determined and outstanding women who were generally denied access to educational institutions until they had proven their ability beyond any doubt. For example, Canada's first woman agricultural expert, E. Cora Hind, was internationally known long before any Canadian university granted a degree to a woman in that field. In the field of geology, Dr. Alice E. Wilson began her distinguished career at the age of forty-four and in 1909 joined the staff of the Geological Survey of Canada as the first woman the Survey had hired as a professional or sent on a field trip. Nevertheless, in 1926, when she was awarded a fellowship for post-graduate work, her leave of absence was at first refused and then granted without pay even though leave-with-pay was granted to male colleagues in similar situations.

There are numerous additional examples of the difficulties encountered by women who have attempted to break the 'sex barrier' in professional occupations. Women, after all, have been 'legal persons' for only forty years in Canada, and it is therefore not surprising that the proportion of women in positions of decision-making, administrative leadership, and expertise remains low.

This brief outline of reforms affecting the status of women, and their entry into institutions of higher education, has given some indication of why women in the academic profession are still experiencing difficulties. In attempting to overcome several hundred years of tradition, in which women were viewed as intellectually inferior and unfit for rigourous study, it is no wonder that these women are confronted with disapproval and opposition. Traditional attitudes towards women scholars are deeply rooted in the academic profession.

Because of the lack of comparability between the education systems in Canada and the United States, especially the absence of high-status women's colleges in Canada which may affect the sponsorship system, any inferences which are made about the Canadian situation from American data are suspect. Additional research is necessary to investigate the applicability of American studies of the status of women in the academic profession to Canada. The present study addresses itself to this problem.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

[1] For example, Plato spoke in favour of education for women; Thucydides wrote of strong-willed female characters with feminist tendencies; Jesus Christ stressed the equal value of every human soul; to name but a few people who were outspoken about social inequality in general and the position of women specifically (see Labarge, "The Cultural Tradition of Canadian Women: The Historical Background," 1971).

[2] Women were granted the state vote in Wyoming in 1890 essentially because it was hoped to attract women to populate the state where they were outnumbered by men seven to one. In Utah, the Mormons adopted equal suffrage in 1896 to increase the Mormon vote. Colorado granted women the vote in 1893 in the hope of attracting women voters to support the Populist party. In other words, in each state the vote was granted for political rather than ideological reasons (O'Neill, 1969: 60-61). See page 39 of this chapter for a discussion of equal suffrage in Canada.

[3] Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970: 334-35.

[4] See Schlesinger for a discussion of separate women's colleges. With co-education, Oberlin College in 1833 and Antioch College in 1853 led the way (1926: 75). For a discussion of the admission of women to Canadian universities, see the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970: 164-65.

[5] For example, women in Wyoming (1890), Colorado (1893), and Utah (1896), were granted the vote. See footnote 2 above.

[6] Note that Alberta did not join Canada until 1905, a fact which could explain the delay of such legislation.

[7] Canada, Department of Labour, Women's Bureau, Changing Patterns of Women's Employment (Ottawa), 1966: 40.

[8] Ibid.: 43.

[9] Edmonton Social Planning Council, Task Force on: Women in the Albertan Labour Force (Edmonton, Alberta), 1974: 11.

[10] Ibid.: 11.

[11] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, L'Emile or A Treatise on Education, edited by W. H. Payne (New York and London), 1966: 263.

[12] For example, Sarah M. Grimke (1837) spoke out against the "miserably deficient" education for females. Male supporters of the women's suffrage movement and abolitionists William Loyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips also spoke in favour of increased educational opportunities for women. See Feminism: Essential Historical Writings,

edited by Miriam Schneir (New York: Vintage Books), 1972. A number of prominent women in the United States, such as Lucy Stone and M. Carey Thomas, were also pioneers in advocating and participating in higher education (O'Neill, 1969: 78, 80). These above-mentioned people exerted a strong influence on the women's movement and American society in general, in their demands for equality of opportunity for females.

[13] For a discussion of the "Turner Thesis," see Turner, 1920; W. Webb, 1931; G. Taylor (ed.), 1956: and M. Cross (ed.), 1970. For a general discussion of the social climate of the American and Canadian West, see S. M. Lipset, 1959; and J. N. McCrorie and A. K. Davis in R. J. Ossenberg, Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict, 1971a. There has been much controversy concerning the validity of the Turner thesis, and a number of writers after Turner elaborated on his ideas to the extent that they were explaining a great deal more with Turner's original ideas than had Turner himself.

The notion that the absence of class and social distinctions in the West led to the ideal of higher education for all (Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, 1965) is perhaps overstated in the case of women. For instance, many of the small American colleges were in financial need as a result of the small [illegible]llments of men during the Civil War and economic recessions. Women were admitted partially to increase the colleges' revenues. Further, western state universities had smaller grants than the elitist universities in the east and found it more economically feasible to admit women than to construct separate women's colleges (Suelzle, "Women in the Academic Marketplace," unpublished, 1974).

[14] Jencks and Riesman, 1968: 291, 302; Bernard, 1964, Chapter One. See also the Royal Commission, 1970: 164.

[15] Defined as private and independent institutions, operated mostly by the Roman Catholic clergy in Quebec and providing secondary and post-secondary education.

[16] Pamphlet (165)I, 3632, footnoted in Charles Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, 1957: 383.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Framework

There are two basic assumptions underlying this study which are felt to have been so adequately demonstrated by previous researchers that they can now be taken for granted. The first assumption, researched by Komarovsky (1946), Maccoby (1966), Mead (1935, 1949), McCandless (1961), and Lambert (1971), is that the differential socialization of boys and girls into culturally acceptable sex roles creates adults who are both aware of and largely conform to these models.

The second assumption, which is perhaps an elaboration of the first, is that the socialization process is not carried out by parents alone but rather perpetuated by the educational systems, legal systems, and the structure and processes of the occupational world. Thus, it is extremely difficult for an individual to modify or reverse these roles because of their pervasiveness and their acceptance. Any changes in socialization will be unlikely to affect the perpetuation of traditional attitudes in these institutions.

This does not imply that there are no variations from the expected roles of men and women within any society, as ethnic and subcultural differences exist regarding appropriate sex role behaviour. Yet, a general illustration of behavioural expectations of boys and girls is portrayed daily in the media,[1] and recent research indicates that these expectations are fulfilled to a great extent in the behavioural patterns of children.[2] It should be noted that the 'cultural expectations' presented in the Canadian and American media generally reflect White Anglo-Saxon middle class expectations, rather than those of minority groups, and include such characteristics as passivity, dependence, emotionality, and lack of ambition and persistence.

Assuming that these two assumptions outlined above have been amply supported by previous research, three hypotheses have been developed from them for the present study. Although the "minority group hypothesis" is the central focus of this dissertation, the "ideology hypothesis" and the "inconsistency hypothesis" present possible contributing factors to the minority group status of academic women.

Minority Group Hypothesis

The first hypothesis is that women within the academic profession could be considered a 'minority group,' not only numerically but in the following ways:

1. Women university professors are hypothesized to receive lower salaries than their male counterparts with the same qualifications (i.e., years of experience, academic degree, and publications).
2. Women professors are hypothesized to perceive that they experience more difficulty than men in receiving recognition for their work in the form of salary increases and promotion.
3. Women professors are hypothesized to feel marginal to the profession, i.e., powerless to improve their professional

status and not accepted or treated as equals by colleagues and as 'experts' by clients.

4. Women professors are hypothesized to hold the attitude that their sex is a disability in their occupational life.

It may be possible for women to overcome their minority status and feelings of marginality by offsetting these discriminatory patterns by special efforts above-and-beyond the normal role expectations. However, it is hypothesized that this type of person would exemplify the "Queen Bee Syndrome" (Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne, 1973), and, in order to maintain her own feelings of superiority in a situation in which she has little power, denies that women 'with ability' have any difficulty achieving positions of power. By denying discrimination, she can rationalize her own unique position by claiming to be very 'competent' and the marginality of most other women in the professional world by their lack of ability or commitment.

Ideology Hypothesis

The second hypothesis is viewed as one of the contributing factors of the minority group status of academic women. University teachers and researchers in Canada and the United States maintain that they operate under universalistic standards in hiring and promotion decisions (CAUT Handbook, 1971; University of Alberta, Faculty Handbook; Parsons, 1939; Jencks and Riesman, 1969). However, in reality, particularistic standards are being utilized which operate against women, as well as other minority group members. Norms and regulations which are made under the guise of universalism often have a detrimental effect on a group with differing values and life-styles. These professional ideologies tend to mask the particularist practices within university teaching which contribute to the minority group status of women academics.

Caplow and McGee, in their controversial volume The Academic Marketplace (1958), have discussed some of the discrepancies between the ideology of professionalism and the realities of academic particularism, as did Epstein in Woman's Place (1971). These, I believe, are worth repeating and exploring in more detail, especially in terms of their consequences for women academics. For example, we discuss the effects on both men and women of anti-nepotism rules, regulations against hiring one's own graduates, and hiring through "old boy ties."

From the professional perspective, practices such as the above are designed not with the intent of excluding women from the faculties of universities but in an attempt to eliminate conflict between colleagues. "Professionalism" and "universalism" then become rationalizations for the maintenance of the power structure. In attempting to avoid questioning of the power structure and hiring criteria, often termed the avoidance of 'conflict,' it is assumed that the 'most qualified' person gets the job. 'Most qualified,' however, often means the person who is most likely to fit in with the values and attitudes of other department members while at the same time contributing something of value to the department. People who are different, either physically or culturally, often are perceived to be a threat to the 'status quo.' They are expected to hold different opinions and values which may question implicit assumptions or the vested interests of colleagues in the same department.

One reason why women may be perceived as a threat in academia is that they are often assumed to lack 'commitment' to the profession (Bernard, 1964: 181; Epstein, 1971: 73). It may be that women lack commitment, but not to the profession. Perhaps they lack commitment to the power structure essentially because they are virtually excluded from it, and this is incorrectly interpreted by colleagues as another example of women's unprofessional behaviour.

An examination of some of the sociological literature on professionalism indicates rather conservative overtones when delineating the basic principles of professional occupations. For instance, professions are said to involve a systematic body of theory, professional authority derived from expertise, a certain favourable sanction from the outside community, and to possess a code of ethics and a professional culture consisting of both formal and informal groups (Greenwood, 1957). Strauss (1963) delineated four "values" associated with professionalism: expertise, autonomy, commitment, and responsibility. Cogan (1953) emphasized the ethical imperative of a profession to be of altruistic service to the client. However, little attention is given in this literature to aspects of power and control within professions--power to restrict admissions, set salary schedules, and monopolize service in a particular sphere of social life.

Talcott Parsons (1939) stated that although many professional functions have traditionally been performed in a "private practice" situation, professionals have tended to associate in order to advance their common interests, including the maintenance of professional standards of competence and integrity. The profession of higher education and scholarly research, according to Parsons, is basically associational.

Parsons (1939) completely ignores the power structure of professional occupations when he states that status in the occupational sphere is largely independent of kinship groups, neighbourhoods, and other primary groups, and that one of the main reasons for this is that universalistic criteria are used to judge achievement in the occupational field. He also ignores the existence of gender stratification. He states that the segregation of family life and occupational life in which the father alone enters the occupational world is 'functional' because it is a "mechanism which minimizes rivalry in marriage and promotes family solidarity" (Parsons, 1964). He further maintains, in an article published in Bell and Stub (1968: 202), that the school system in the United States evaluates its students on a non-sex, non-kin basis. This blatant omission of stratification based on gender and analysis of the power structure of occupations encourages this sociologist to 'write off' much of the work of Parsons, as well as of other functionalist theorists.

Parsons' work on occupations, with his emphasis on professionalism and universalistic standards and his implicit assumption that women's absence from the occupational world is 'functional,' will be compared to authors such as Caplow and McGee (1958). The latter indicate that extremely particularistic standards are being utilized in academia which may work against many well-qualified people, including women. Interview results from the present study investigated this point. Personal experiences of faculty members, sessional lecturers, doctoral students, and Ph.D 'drop-outs,' shed some light on the extent to which ascribed characteristics, personal opinions, and values enter into the hiring and promotional system of a Western Canadian university.

Inconsistency Hypothesis

The third hypothesis is that the cultural stereotype and expectations of appropriate behaviour for female persons in North America are inconsistent with the job requirements of university professor and administrator. These role inconsistencies contribute to the minority group status of women university professors.

From such documents as the code of ethics found in the CAUT Bulletin[3] and its American counterpart, faculty handbooks, and the newspaper entitled 'University Affairs,' descriptions of job requirements were obtained. From these sources, as well as through the interviews with academic women, some characteristics and skills which are presumed necessary for university positions were extracted. For example, a university teacher is presumed to be an expert who has enough self-confidence to discuss and generate controversial ideas with those who are willing to challenge them. An academic researcher is frequently required to be a manager of large sums of money and a supervisor of several assistants.

Silverstein indicated that he sought out academia because it had been presented to him as a ". . . less masculine milieu than most social institutions, yet ultimately it turned out that success in this sphere was as much dependent on those personality traits defined as male as in any other part of the society." He further indicated that the ". . . masculine drive for power is the essential motivating force in the functioning of academic institutions" (1972: 4).

How relevant are the characteristics and skills expected of university professors for people encouraged to be passive, non-controversial, and dependent on males? One of the primary objectives in the guidelines on professional ethics given by the Canadian Association of University Teachers is ". . . insofar as possible, the initiations of students into academic disciplines." Given the present sex role socialization and the structure of the professions, to what extent are female students initiated into academia?

By researching the roles which are presented as being appropriate for women,[4] some conclusions will be drawn concerning the 'fit' between the job requirements for people working within academia (faculty and high-level administrative positions) and "feminine characteristics" or roles considered suitable for females.

Characteristics imputed to women in North American society are often described in terms of deficiencies--such as lack of aggressiveness, lack of personal involvement and egoism, lack of persistence, and lack of ambitious drive (Epstein, 1971). In a study by Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957), ethnographic reports from one-hundred-and-ten essentially non-literate cultures were studied, revealing that differentiation on the basis of sex is relatively unimportant in infancy. However, in childhood there is, as in our culture, a widespread pattern of greater pressure towards nurturance, obedience, and responsibility in girls, and towards self-reliance and achievement-striving in boys. Maccoby (1963) has written that ". . . the girl who maintains qualities of independence and active striving (achievement orientation) necessary for intellectual mastery defies the conventions of sex-appropriate behaviour and must pay a price in anxiety."

It is possible that achieving academic success may only be feasible for those willing to give up or modify their 'feminine' characteristics and values. If women are still being socialized to be passive, dependent, and supportive, as past research has indicated, then 'femininity' as defined in the Canadian and American cultures as a set of personality characteristics is not consistent with high intelligence, controversy, supervisory roles, or many of the other characteristics defined as necessary and desirable for a university teacher and administrator. These are defined as essentially male characteristics.

On the other hand, a redefinition of the term 'success' might be an alternative solution for women academics who wish to retain their 'femininity.' For instance, women could use rapport with students, or efficiency and facility of combining personal life and occupational life, as their measure of success rather than their rank, their power, or number of publications. It is possible, however, that those women who enter academia are already co-opted into the system and accept the male criteria for success. These questions are investigated in some detail in the interviews conducted for the present study.

The second and third hypotheses are viewed as contributing factors to the minority group status of women university professors. Although we realize that numerous other factors influence the status of women in academia--such as the division of labour in the family, lack of suitable role models, inadequate day-care facilities for working parents, and the general structure of our society in which women are viewed as an exploitable work force--these two hypotheses are perceived as very influential for academic women in particular. As we are concentrating in this study on only a small group of elite women, we shall emphasize barriers to the success of women university teachers rather than to all women.

Methodology

In an attempt to test the three hypotheses delineated above, we have chosen to combine library research, participant observation, and intensive interviewing.

Following the placement of the present study in an historical perspective and a review of the findings of previous research on the position of academic women, we have relied for data on the use of personal case histories of 'academic women' at a Western Canadian university. A sample of women in four academic categories were intensively interviewed--full-time faculty, sessional appointees, doctoral students, and former doctoral students who formally withdrew from their programmes within the past three years. These women were questioned about their career development and their personal experiences as both students and teachers. Their attitudes towards certain university regulations which the author believed would specifically affect the careers of women were also ascertained. More importantly, however, were the perceptions of role expectations and inconsistencies and the perception of biases against women in the university..

The Sample

From the 1973-74 calendar of this Western Canadian university, the names of females who had full-time appointments could be extracted because of the use of the title 'Miss' or 'Mrs.' before most of their names, regardless of whether or not they had a doctorate. When it was discovered that several women's names were included in the calendar with the title of 'Dr.' rather than any indication of their gender, it became apparent that additional sampling methods would have to be used.

Names of full-time and sessional appointees were also found in a list of academic women at this university, which was co-ordinated for the meetings of the Academic Women's Association recently formed on campus.[5] Female doctoral students were identified by asking those staff members interviewed if they knew any female Ph.D students in their own departments. From these various sources, the author contacted these women by telephone or in person and requested an interview with them. Of the forty-one women asked to participate in this study, only two refused.[6]

Only women within predominantly male departments were interviewed, excluding such schools and departments as nursing, dental hygiene, and household economics where women predominate. The rationale for this decision was that the present study addresses itself only to women who are in a numerical minority, even though the author is certainly aware that valuable information could be gained by extending the boundaries of this study. Thus, we have excluded women in non-academic positions, men in predominantly female departments, and women in predominantly female departments in an attempt to keep the study 'under control.'[7] Table Two portrays the distribution of full-time, tenurable appointments in each faculty by sex, to give an indication of the population from which the sample was drawn.

Table Two

Full-Time, Tenurable Faculty Members at the University Under Investigation, by Sex and Faculty

Faculty	Male	Female	Total Number in Faculty
Agriculture	97.2 %	2.8 %	71
Arts	85.8	14.2	359
Business Administration/Commerce	96.4	3.6	56
Dentistry	78.4	21.6	37
Education	81.8	18.2	159
Engineering	100.0	0.0	87
Graduate Studies	100.0	0.0	5
Household Economics	16.0	84.0	25
Law	90.5	9.5	21
Library Science	14.3	85.7	7
Medicine	89.9	10.1	148
Nursing	0.0	100.0	20
Pharmacy	95.0	5.0	20
Physical Education	75.0	15.0	44
Rehabilitative Medicine	60.0	40.0	15
College St. Jean	73.3	26.7	15
Science	97.7	3.3	302
	86.5 %	13.5 %	1391

Source: Department of Institutional Research and Planning, June 1974

After searching for women who formally withdrew from doctoral programmes at this university, by word of mouth, it became apparent that a more systematic method would have to be found to identify these individuals. The Dean of Women was contacted, and she spent several weeks attempting to uncover names, discovering only two women Ph.D students who had formally withdrawn within the past year. After going back two previous years, she found only two additional names. One further problem with women in this category was that they had to be still in the same city so that they could be interviewed.

It was found that very few women formally withdraw from doctoral programmes at this university. This could be partially attributed to the fact that so few enroll in the first place [about eight per cent of doctoral students are female (Royal Commission, 1970: 169)] and once they do enroll they remain in the programme to a great extent. Another possible reason for the shortage of such persons is that they do not formally withdraw--they remain enrolled as part-time students, paying a nominal fee to retain their registration, in case they decide to return at a later date, or just "drift away." The only way such people could be identified was by word of mouth, and this method proved unfruitful after no subjects were found in an eight-month period.

In an attempt to make the sample representative of those women in predominantly male departments of this university, the author endeavoured to cover most of the departments which had women on staff and to interview several women in departments which had a number of women in full-time positions.[8] The following departments were included--English, history, sociology, economics, classics, Germanic languages, anthropology, political science, drama, elementary education, educational foundations, physical education, dentistry, law, zoology, psychology, medical bacteriology, pathology, biochemistry, mathematics, genetics, geography, and linguistics. Certain departments, such as engineering, physics and chemistry, were omitted because they apparently had no female faculty. An attempt was made to interview graduate students in a wide cross-section of departments. However, only doctoral students were interviewed on the understanding that they were much more likely to be planning to pursue an academic career and closer to achieving that goal than students in the Master's programme.

The university at which the interviewing took place is a provincial university which was established over a half-century ago. The university publishes a Faculty Handbook, listing faculty regulations, conditions of appointment and tenure, and fringe benefits. A Manual of Administrative Procedure and Policy is also available, from which the author could obtain information concerning formal regulations and practices of the university as well as job descriptions of various administrative posts. This written information was used in a comparison of the comments concerning university policy given by the women interviewed.

The Interview Schedule

The interview approach was used in the present study as it offered a greater opportunity for flexibility and probing and would yield a higher response rate than a mailed questionnaire. Moreover, interviewing is a more appropriate technique for revealing information about complex, emotionally-laden topics, or for probing the sentiments which underlie an expressed opinion (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1959: 242). In many cases, the subjects might not have clearly formulated views which could be easily expressed in short answer form concerning their own careers and aspirations. Consequently, a loosely structured interview schedule was drawn up.

A certain amount of background information was essential in order to compare the four groups of subjects effectively. Therefore, information concerning department, rank, type of appointment, highest earned degree, marital status, and spouse's occupation, parents' occupations, teaching load, publications, and committee involvement was gathered. The subject then was requested to give an account of how she decided to continue on to graduate studies, including reactions from 'significant others,' and alternative career and life-style possibilities. Her educational and employment history and feelings about her career at the time of graduation with the highest degree were also requested. Her entire career history was followed through, with some personal information also requested. (See copy of interview schedule in Appendix.)

We were specifically interested in the women's perceptions of the desirability of these occupational positions, whether or not they found the salary satisfactory, whether they felt that they were accepted as professionals by colleagues and students, what aspect of the job they enjoyed the most, and when they would consider themselves to be 'successful' in their careers.

We also concentrated on certain aspects of their personal lives, such as possible role models for their intellectual development and eventual professional jobs (mothers, teachers, professors) and, where applicable, how they organized the work within their households. We attempted to find out from the married women if they felt that their marriage and family had affected their careers in any way, and whether or not all women felt that women professors had any special disabilities or problems not encountered by their male counterparts.

We sought their opinions concerning such university practices as anti-nepotism rules, the present 'Affirmative Action Programme' in the United States in which hiring priority is given to women and minority group members, and regulations preventing a department from hiring its own graduates. We also asked if they had any affiliations with any women's organizations.

The interviews concluded with the question, "Why do you think that there are not more women involved in the profession of university teaching in Canadian universities?" The answer to this often became a general discussion of the status of professional women, socialization processes, and career patterns of females in this country. Frequently, the women then asked the author about her own study and her career.

From these interviews, we hope to draw some conclusions about how women university professors define and describe their own professional roles; their perception of who has the power to control their careers; whether they perceive that their own occupational lives are 'atypical'; and generally if they believe that women are a disadvantaged group in academia. Through these interviews, we have also been able to learn a great deal about departmental politics or the nature of the power arrangements in an academic setting and their specific effects upon women. The interviews are therefore addressing themselves to answering essentially the 'minority group' and 'ideology' hypotheses but have also shed some light about role expectations for females in our society.

Participant Observation

In addition to employing the intensive interview approach to studying academic women, we have also made use of participant observation to gain insights into the structure of academia and the career patterns of women faculty and graduate students. Participant observation has been used by many social scientists (Whyte, 1943; Lucas, 1971; Laud Humphreys, 1970; E. Liebow, 1967; and O. Lewis, 1965) to gain insights into the norms and values of a subculture or community, and has often enabled the social scientist to gain access to a body of information which could not easily be obtained by a disinterested onlooker. By experiencing the emotions and activities of the people studied, the participant observer obtains a greater depth of experience, while at the same time he or she is able to record the actual behaviour of the participants (Goode and Hatt, 1952). As a female, middle class doctoral student, with some teaching experience, the author was able to establish a good rapport with the women interviewed, especially the younger ones (Wax, 1971: 46).

As the method of participant observation was substantiated by interviewing, statistical analysis, and library research, many of the disadvantages of this method (Goode and Hatt, 1952: 330; Wax, 1971: 222) were overcome. For instance, it is possible to go beyond the range of one's experience by verifying personal insights with the experiences of others in the same organization and to further compare them to national or provincial statistics.

In this present study, valuable insights into the lives of academic women have been gained from spending seven years within the academic setting, both as staff and student. Sitting on departmental and university wide committees[9] has provided the writer with some knowledge of hiring practices and the criteria for the acceptance of graduate students, and teaching three courses on the sociology of women has given me access to the personal opinions and attitudes of many female students. Recently, I also had three interviews for employment at the university level, from which insights were gained concerning hiring practices and criteria.

In addition to this university experience, employment with the Federal Public Service in two provincial capitals in Canada has enabled me to compare the position of women in a university to several government departments. I was also fortunate enough to be in the process of this research at the same time that the university's Senate Task Force was investigating the status of academic and non-academic women and could exchange ideas and information with the chairperson of the Task Force.[10]

Testing the Hypotheses

The ideology hypothesis was tested by a comparison between the formal statements of professional ethics and standards, such as those presented by the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the sociological literature on the professions (such as Parsons, 1939; Greenwood, 1957; Strauss, 1963; and Cogan, 1953), and the actual processes of professional life within a large bureaucratic organization as observed by the writer and as experienced by the interviewees throughout their professional lives.

We believe that the formal statements given by the professional associations and the job requirements written in newspaper advertisements and academic procedural manuals would adequately reflect the ideologies governing academia. By 'ideologies,' we are referring to a set of formal beliefs and values which are said to govern appropriate professional behaviour in this case but are not necessarily practiced in everyday professional life. In this section, we are particularly interested in gaining some insight into whether academia is governed by expectations and regulations which apply equally to everyone, whether these 'ideals' are in fact put into practical application, and whether women academics verbalize these ideologies themselves. In other words, are these universalistic standards of hiring and promotion, about which, for example, Parsons (1939) and Jencks and Riesman (1968) write, and these 'objective' criteria merely ideals which are seldom attained?

'Universalism' versus 'particularism' generally refers to criteria used to judge performance. If universalistic standards are employed, preference is presumably not given to personal friends, and decisions are based on clear-cut achievement criteria that are applicable to all candidates "across the board." It is 'merit' that defines acceptability for a professional appointment, rather than personality, beliefs, or 'connections.' The thesis examines, then, the reality of the application of such standards in academia, and whether or not women academics generally receive unequal treatment. An awareness of these inequalities--and of themselves as a disadvantaged group--would enable one to label academic women a minority group.

The testing of the 'inconsistency hypothesis' was done largely through library research and the examination of policy statements and job descriptions published by the university. Through a perusal of such materials as the CAUT Bulletin, Faculty Handbook, The Manual of Administrative Policy and Procedures, and other sociological sources on professional occupations (Bernard, 1964; Epstein, 1971; Caplow and McGee, 1958), we could formulate some characteristics and skills which are considered to be of value to a university professor. We also ascertained various aspects of the role of the female university professor from the interviews with women academics at this university. We then compared the job descriptions and requirements of university professors to information gained about suitable roles for 'feminine persons.' Guidance pamphlets, information concerning the role of females in school, and university texts (Cullen, 1972; Ehrlich, 1971; and Kirschner, 1973), and any literature put out by Canada Manpower about career opportunities, was examined.

The attitudes of those women interviewed were gained concerning definitions of femininity and suitable academic specialties for women, as well as student and colleague reaction to their gender in their occupational life. This gave us further insights into the 'fit' between roles considered suitable for feminine persons and the characteristics and skills considered necessary for professional occupations, specifically teaching and research in a Canadian university. It was then possible to make some statements concerning the relevancy of female socialization in North America for professional occupations.

The minority group hypothesis, as was previously mentioned, was tested essentially through the interviews. Case histories were written up for each interview which averaged about six typewritten pages. Quotes and comments were extracted from these case histories which typified the responses of the women interviewed. This hypothesis was further tested through an examination of previous studies of the status of academic women (Rossi, 1970; Bernard, 1964; Simon, et al., 1967; Bayer and Astin, 1968; Robson and Lapointe, 1971; to mention but a few), but these data were given secondary inportance.

The following four chapters will be addressed to 'testing' the three hypotheses previously mentioned. Chapter Four will examine the results of former studies concerned with similar subject matter, and each of the following chapters will deal with one of the hypotheses.

Footnotes for Chapter Three

[1] The students of my "Sociology of Women" class, Fall 1973, at the University of Alberta, wrote short papers on the image of women in the media and generally concluded that children are presented with different toys encouraging them to develop particular sex roles and that adult women are often portrayed as dependent, passive, incompetent, naive, unintelligent, and most often in the role of wife, mother, or seductress.

[2] Boyd R. McCandless, Children and Adolescents: Behaviour and Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston) 1961; H. Barry, M. K. Bacon, and I. J. Child, "A Cross-Cultural Survey of Some Sex Differences in Socialization," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 55 (November 1957), Number 3: 327-32.

[3] CAUT Bulletin, May 1970: 68-72.

[4] See, for example, Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957); Kagan (1964); Lynn (1966); Goldberg (1968); and Cullen (1972) for a discussion of the socialization and the consequences of this socialization into sex roles.

[5] A five-page list consisting of most of the women at the University of Alberta, including sessional appointments. But, again, this list was incomplete. The Academic Women's Association, formed in the fall of 1973, was organized to increase communication among women on campus. This organization apparently arose from concern about women's position on campus--or women's lack of awareness of the position of other women.

[6] One woman, who was reputed to be in a very precarious position and afraid that she would be removed from her position as visiting assistant professor, stated that she was 'too busy.' Another assistant professor declined when she found out that the results of the interviews would not be computerized.

[7] Although the temptation was very great to include a wider population in this study, I decided to include only academic women in predominantly male departments because the number of interviews was necessarily small (no research assistance was available) and I wanted to make some generalizations. If I included both men and women, in academic and non-academic positions, I would have so many types of people that generalizations would be impossible without a much larger sample. Although men in predominantly female departments would have been an excellent control group, we felt that this would be a valuable topic for a future study, when more resources are available.

[8] For a breakdown of the sample, see Chapter Four, Tables Nine to Sixteen.

[9] The list of committees in which the writer was involved include: undergraduate representative to the sociology departmental assembly in a large eastern university, sociology representative to the Graduate Student Association in the university under study, and student representative to the Graduate Awards and Selection Committee and the Executive Council of the sociology department at the university under investigation.

[10] Journalist June Sheppard.

CHAPTER FOUR

A STATISTICAL LOOK AT WOMEN IN ACADEMIA

Trends in University Enrollment

At the end of the sixties, women in Canada comprised a little over one-third of the undergraduate enrollment in universities. They have formed an increasing percentage of the undergraduate enrollment since 1921 (Royal Commission, 1970: 167). In fact, the female participation rate has quadrupled while the male rate has doubled. Yet, women in Canada are still far less likely than men to attend university, particularly at the graduate level.

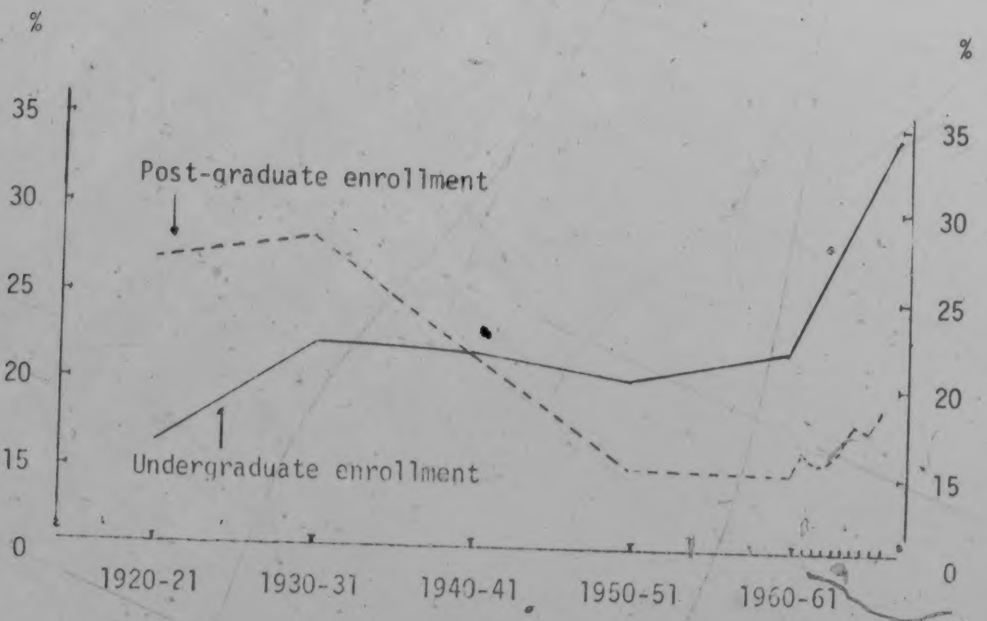
Although the proportion of women in master and doctoral programmes has increased since 1955, the percentage of females who are graduate students has not yet reached the high figure of 1921 (Royal Commission, 1970: 169). Between 1930 and 1950 there was a steady decline in the proportion of female graduate students both in Canada and the United States. Table Three portrays this trend in Canada.

It is interesting to note that a higher proportion of women are receiving university degrees at every level in the United States than in Canada. Table Four compares female graduates in the two countries for 1966.

Not only do women have lower participation rates than men in university education, but they also are involved in different areas of study. For example, more women than men enroll in university

Table Three

Enrollment of Women at the Undergraduate and Post-Graduate Levels as a Percentage of Total Enrollment (Full-time, Regular Session)



Source: M. C. Urquhart and K. A. H. Buckley (eds.), Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto: MacMillan), 1965: 601-02; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Survey of Higher Education, Catalogue Number 81-204, 1961-68. (Also in Royal Commission, 1970: 168.)

Table Four

University Degrees Earned by Women in Canada and the United States, 1966 (Women as Percentage of Total)

Degree Conferred	Canada	United States
Bachelor and first professional degree	34.5 %	40.7 %
Master degree and licences (French language universities)	20.6	33.8
Doctorates	7.6	11.6

Source: American figures from Epstein (1971: 58); Canadian figures from Royal Commission (1970: 170).

correspondence courses, in extra-mural television courses, and also form a large percentage of undergraduate and graduate part-time students (Royal Commission, 1970: 169-70). There are slightly increased percentages of women studying full-time in certain traditionally 'male-oriented' fields such as agriculture, architecture, dentistry, engineering, law, medicine, pharmacy, and theology, but the proportions of women in social work and physical education have dropped. Of all women in undergraduate courses--full-time and part-time--the proportions enrolling in law and medicine have decreased, while there has been a significant increase in those women enrolling in the faculty of education (Royal Commission, 1970: 171).

In a paper presented to the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada in 1971, June Adam stated that females are under-represented at the graduate level of study and that the representation at the undergraduate level is higher for part-time students than for full-time students. Undergraduate females were found to have the highest percentage enrollments in the faculties of arts and education.

Adam also found that sixty-eight per cent of the female full-time graduate students are enrolled at the Master's level and twenty-two per cent at the doctoral level and that the representation of females relative to males was much higher at the lower level of study (1971). Table Five shows the number of doctorates awarded in Canada, by area of specialization, and the percentage awarded to females.

Table Five

Female Doctorates Awarded by Area of Specialization
(As a Percentage of Total Number)
Canada, 1969-70

Area of Specialization	Total Number of Doctorates Awarded	Doctorates Awarded to Females
Education	78	21 %
Fine and Applied Arts	3	33
Humanities and Related	154	27
Social Sciences and Related	166	14
Agriculture and Biological Science	235	9
Engineering and Applied Science	188	0
Health Professions and Occupations	95	8
Mathematics and Physical Sciences	456	4

Source: Derived from Table 16, page 48, in June Adam, "A Profile of Women in Canadian Universities." Prepared for the AUCC Annual Meeting, November, 1971.

Women tend to receive their doctorates later in life than their male colleagues, with an age differential of four to five years. This age difference is magnified by the fact that women tend to be in those fields in which those obtaining degrees are older, independent of sex--such as humanities, arts, education, and the social sciences. There is more frequently a time gap between a woman's bachelor degree and her Ph.D than between a man's, when she may work in a traditional 'female' field or raise children and then, dissatisfied, returns to graduate school (Bernard, 1964: 39).

Davis (1963: 44-46) found that women with doctorates were intellectually superior to their male counterparts, using intelligence test scores from high school, high school aptitude tests, and high school rank to measure intellectual superiority. Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959: 38-40) found that the class background of women undergraduates who planned to continue to graduate school was higher on the average than that of male counterparts. (Class was measured by father's occupation, education, and income.) This may be partially explained by the fact that priority is often given to the education of sons rather than daughters if financial resources are limited. It has further been concluded by Bernard (1964: 79-80) and Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959: 31) that women have to be 'better' than men in academic work in order to be accepted in graduate school and eventually find academic employment.

Rossi's study of the "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology" (1970) revealed the declining proportion of women in the various career categories from undergraduate to full professor.

Rossi's study indicates that the higher the level of advancement in an academic career in sociology the smaller is the percentage of women involved, as shown in Table Six.

Table Six

Proportion of Women in Various Career Categories
in Graduate Departments of Sociology, 1968-69
(United States and Canada)

Career Category	Proportion of Women
Seniors planning graduate work in sociology	43 %
M.A. Candidates	37
Ph.D Candidates	30
Teaching Assistants	31
Lecturers and Instructors	27
Assistant Professors	14
Associate Professors	9
Full Professors	4
Chairmen of graduate departments in sociology	1
Of 44 full professors in 5 'elite' departments	0

Source: Alice S. Rossi, "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology," American Sociologist 5, 1970: 11.

A continuing longitudinal study sponsored by the British Sociological Association, which is studying the career patterns of 1970 sociology graduates from universities and colleges in Britain, concluded that sex was a determining factor in whether or not a student continued on to graduate studies. More than half of the sociology graduates were female in 1970, yet the proportion of female graduates is decreasing. Males were more likely to continue studying, regardless of the type of institution attended and grades achieved as an undergraduate.[1]

From these studies it can be concluded that gender and marital status are significant variables in determining the educational opportunities and the chances of completing a graduate degree. The high attrition rate of females means that the population of "qualified" women for university teaching positions is very small indeed.

Salaries and Rank of Women University Professors

Before discussing the findings of the present study, it is first necessary to review the conclusions of previous research on the salaries, rank, qualifications, and productivity rates of academic women in an attempt to emphasize that women in this occupation share a disadvantaged position in the reward system.

Women in North American society are often said to be less status-driven occupationally than men, and somewhat less competitive (Bernard, 1964: 181). Such results may be explained by the early socialization process that often results in alternative channels of upward mobility for women. Women can sometimes achieve high status and prestige through physical attractiveness and/or by marrying a prominent or wealthy man. Thus, women need not depend to the same extent as men on their occupations to achieve upward mobility.[2] One of the major grievances of men is that women fail to compete for the values which men set up for the profession or to play by their rules (Bernard, 1964: 181). This same complaint has been made against many other minority groups and probably serves as a defensive reaction against perceived barriers to their own upward mobility. It may also be used as a protest on the part of the minority group against the majority group standards.

June Adam found that female full-time university teachers are more likely to be in the humanities and social sciences rather than the biological and physical sciences. Of the 2,832 such teachers in this country, thirty-four per cent are in the humanities, thirty-six per cent in the social sciences, twenty-three per cent in the biological sciences, and seven per cent in the physical sciences (1971: 94). The representation of females relative to males is greater for the humanities and least in the physical sciences. The percentage of female teachers is highest at the lower levels of rank and lowest at the full professor level. She also states that there is a greater proportion of women compared to men with Master's degrees rather than Ph.D's.

Adam's statistics were derived from the annual federal government statistics on university and college teachers in Canada,[3] and she does not discuss any reasons for the position or hiring of women in academia. She refers only to the study of Robson and Lapointe (1971) rather than elaborating on the large sex differences in salary which are found in Table Seven. It should be noted that in this table the discrepancy in the salaries of males and females increases with time since the first degree was awarded.

Robson and Lapointe prepared a study for the Canadian Association of University Teachers to be utilized by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) and concluded that sex was an independent variable in lowering the salaries of women academics in Canada. Based on

Table Seven

Numbers, and Median Salaries, of 1969-70 Full-time University Teachers, by Years Since Award of First Degree and Sex (All Fields Combined*)

Years (to 1969) since Award of First Degree	Number Reported			Median Salary	
	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female
0-4	1,141	385	0.34	$ 9,754	$ 8,543
5-9	4,688	676	0.14	11,387	10,084
10-14	4,417	509	0.12	13,342	11,236
15-19	3,313	385	0.12	15,387	12,059
20-24	2,243	329	0.15	17,248	13,062
25-29	1,113	192	0.18	18,567	13,350
30-34	830	120	0.15	19,133	14,000
35-39	520	83	0.10	15,594	14,250
40-44	266	55	0.21	19,850	15,550
45 and over	76	8	0.11	17,600	--
No university degree	254	107	0.42	11,350	9,150
Total	18,861	2,849	0.15		

*The field of Faculty Administration is included here with the fields of Humanities, Social Sciences, Biological Sciences and Physical Sciences, since the method of tabulating the data in the original tables did not permit the subtraction of Faculty Administration frequencies separately for the two sexes.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Publication 81-203, "Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers in Universities and Colleges: 1969-70," Table 12.

data from 1965-66, the average salary of men in the academic profession was $10,690, while the average woman's salary was $8,428, or $2,262 less than men's. It was found that slightly more than half of the variance (1,199) could not be attributed to any or all of the factors of age, degree held, field of specialization, university, region, or academic rank (Robson and Lapointe: 1971: 31). Therefore, they concluded, gender appears to be a factor in lowering the earnings of academic women in Canada. However, they did not control for the number of years of continuous employment, so that some women may have taken time off for childbearing purposes.

In a study of the Education Faculty at the University of Alberta in 1969-70,[4] Naomi Hersom concluded that women comprise 15.1 per cent of the academic staff, while 28.3 per cent of the Master's students and 14.0 per cent of the doctoral students in education were women. She noted that there was a steady decline in the number of female graduate students compared to the number of female undergraduates, and that the attrition rate for female senior graduate students in this faculty is extremely high. She attributes this phenomenon to the lack of role models for those women who may aspire to an academic career (1970: 14).

In a preliminary report of the Committee on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta,[5] it was revealed that women comprised 16.1 per cent of the full-time academic staff, if traditionally 'female' fields such as nursing, dental hygiene, library science, and household economics were included, and 9.7 per cent if these fields were excluded. In its study of academic rank, the report indicated that there were 15.9 females for every 100 males on the full-time teaching staff.

The distribution of women by rank is skewed towards the over-representation of women at the lower ranks (see Table Eight).

Table Eight

Distribution of Women by Rank at the University of Alberta (December, 1971)

Rank	F/M Ratio[1]
Lecturer/Instructor	213/100
Assistant Professor	25/100
Associate Professor	10/100
Full Professor	5/100

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[1] Number of females per one hundred males.

Source: Preliminary Report of the Committee on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta, 1972.

The preliminary report also concluded that women are relatively over-represented at the lower ranks at the University of Alberta compared to the national ratio. The disproportion of women in the lower echelons is reflected in the median salaries at each rank, which the committee indicated was $14,700 for the average woman on staff and $19,300 for the average man (Committee on the Status of Women, 1972: 1).

Of all the women on academic staff at the University of Alberta, 53.9 per cent have sessional or temporary appointments compared to 28.8 per cent of all men on academic staff (Committee on the Status of Women, 1972: 2). These sessional appointees could be considered the "academic proletariat,[6] since these people are appointed for one year or less, have no job security, no fringe benefits such as Alberta Health Care, Blue Cross, Term Insurance, or university pension plan to which the full-time staff is entitled. If they participate in committee work, they are not remunerated for it because it is assumed that it is not part of their job. They have no representation on governing bodies (as do students), no access to university travel funds or support for grant applications, cannot supervise graduate students without permission from the dean, and are the first to lose their positions when there are 'cut-backs.'

About three-quarters of women sessionals are married compared to about one-half of the full-time women at the University of Alberta. The preliminary report of the Committee on the Status of Women speculates on how many of these sessional appointees are married to academic men at this university and thus would be affected by nepotism rules or informal regulations. The present study has investigated this issue further.

Simon, et al., in their study of women Ph.D's in the United States, analyzed the comparative incomes of men and women, including salaries from private industry and government jobs as well as salaries from academic positions. They found that women in academic positions earned several hundreds of dollars less than men at the same rank, but the differences were greater in non-academic jobs. In addition, they found that married women were less likely than unmarried women to have been promoted to the rank of associate professor. In the natural and social sciences, they were more likely to hold a non-professorial position such as research associate. They also found that women who were recent Ph.D's were more likely to have tenure to the same extent as men, and were more likely to have salaries which approximated those of their male counterparts. However, their interpretation of their findings was most questionable, as the authors then concluded that there is a decrease over time in the differential between men and unmarried women Ph.D's (1967: 229). I would interpret these findings to be an indication that although men and unmarried women Ph.D's start out on an equal footing the discrepancy between their salaries and rank increases over time. One problem with the data of Simon, et al., is that they interpreted them as though they were gathered at two different times, when in reality they were examining several age groups at the same time.[7]

Bayer and Astin (1968) found that within each major field of study, academic setting, and career-length category, no significant differences in academic rank between men and women appear. These results, however, have not been confirmed by others such as Bernard (1964), Simon, et al. (1967), and Robson and Lapointe (1971), who found that women with similar qualifications to men often occupy a lower rank.

However, Bayer and Astin did find that women academics experience a significantly lower income than men in the teaching profession for working the same number of hours, as did LaSorte (1971), Fava (1960), and Kashket, Robbins, Leive, and Huang (1974). Bayer and Astin also found that the salaries of female social scientists are not generally as discrepant from those reported by men, compared to the salaries of female natural scientists. On the other hand, female social scientists are not often represented in proportion to their membership in the high ranks, compared to women natural scientists.

It seems clear, then, that women in academia in Canada, as well as in the United States, are clustered in the lower ranks of the profession and thus earn lower salaries on the average than men. However, this is not entirely due to differences in qualifications. Robson and Lapointe (1971) concluded that rank exerts a greater influence on the male/female salary differential than all other factors combined:

> With very few exceptions, even when women have the same degree of training and experience, men tend to dominate the higher academic and administrative ranks (deans, heads, full professors, and associate professors) while women are concentrated in the lower ranks of assistant professor and "other" (lecturers and instructors, etc.). Thus, it appears that even when women have the same amount of training and experience as men, discrimination exists against women in terms of promotion.[8]

Qualifications and Productivity Rates

In order to teach in a Canadian or American university, a candidate is not required to undergo any formal teacher-training or to be licensed in any way. Neither is a Ph.D degree a necessity to enter the profession, although it is increasingly becoming essential for a viable career. Because the qualifications for a university professor are not very explicit, entrance to the profession is partially based on subjective criteria such as personal 'networks' and 'reputation' in addition to a certain level of academic achievement as defined by the hiring institution.

The decision to enter graduate school often occurs more as a drift than a clear-cut decision (Berelson, 1960: 143). This also happens with the move from graduate study to university teaching, especially as the alternative occupational possibilities are narrowed with increasing specialization. The graduate student also becomes to a large extent 'resocialized,' so that occupational alternatives that at one time seemed attractive are no longer viewed as alternatives. Graduate education, in part, serves the purpose of socializing the student to the values and ethics of the academic profession. For example, the teaching or research assistantship gives the student the opportunity to practice some of the duties of the professor while remaining outside the role of professional academic.

Graduate work involves a sponsor-protege system similar to an apprenticeship, which often means working in close association with one professor for several months or years (Epstein, 1971: 169; Bernard, 1964: 140). Assisting candidates who are eventually 'successful' may give the professor's own career "reflected glory."

There are certain disadvantages for a woman in this context. A male professor frequently has difficulty seeing a woman as his successor, partly because of the assumed lack of commitment to her career and the profession, a common stereotype of an employed woman. A woman who has already taken some time off for childbearing may be considered a 'poor risk' to sponsor--as well as the young married woman without children, since it is assumed that one can never know when she will leave the labour force for domestic responsibilities. In addition to this, working in close association with a graduate student of the opposite sex could give rise to certain strains if sexual implications are placed on the situation by others. It sometimes happens that both professor and student "lean over backwards" to avoid these implications and offset this potential conflict of interests.

Bernard (1964: 65) suggested that females are more influenced by the opinions and attitudes of friends and family when choosing a professional career than are males, and are thereby less influenced by the encouragement of former professors. Perhaps also, the lack of female role-models within academia makes it more difficult for female graduate students to pattern their occupational lives after their professors.' Bernard states that female graduate students generally have a higher drop-out rate than male graduate students and frequently withdraw for personal rather than academic reasons.

The hiring process in academia was seen by Caplow and McGee as the acquisition of prestigious academics who have the potential of bringing future prestige to the department in the form of graduate students, colleagues, or publications. Women rarely serve this purpose since they seldom achieve national or international fame, except perhaps in women's colleges (1958: 95).

Once caught in the vicious circle, it is difficult for women who have remained at the lower ranks to get a position in a reputable institution. Hiring on the basis of prestige is more common in the upper echelons of the status hierarchy than at the junior levels, where most women are clustered. At the rank of lecturer or assistant professor, potential productivity may be more important. However, this operates to the disadvantage of women as their 'potential' is assumed to be less than that of men.

The prestige function of mobility has been mentioned by Caplow and McGee (1958) as a significant factor in the academic profession which operates to women's disadvantage. Men seem to be in a better bargaining position because they are freer to choose their work location. It is considered 'normal' for the wife to move with her husband's job opportunities, but seldom is the husband expected to move with his wife's job. In fact, this value is reinforced in Canadian domicile laws. If the husband moves to another community to take a job, the wife must accompany him or she could be legally classified as a "deserting wife." If her job takes her to another community and her husband chooses not to accompany her, she has legally deserted him and is no longer entitled to any of the legal advantages of a married woman in this country (Zuker and Callwood, 1971). A woman must frequently choose her graduate school and place of employment according to the location of her husband's job, which is usually considered to be the primary concern in the family. In large urban centres with more than one college or university, fewer problems would arise than in cities with only one institution. However, it is usually the wife who has to commute a long distance to work. In cities and towns with only one university, employed faculty wives are sometimes forced to accept sessional appointments, simply because they do not have the mobility and thus the bargaining power to demand an appointment.

One recent study of the hiring practices of university teachers in the physical sciences (Lewin and Duchin, 1971) showed that there is a tendency to prefer what was classified as an 'average' male over an 'average' female but to recognize a 'superior' woman. This was found to hold especially for higher quality schools, in departments with younger or newer chairmen, and on the east and west coasts of the United States. The authors concluded that women faculty in the physical sciences seem to be evaluated on different criteria than men, that is, criteria based on personal values and attitudes reflecting socially acceptable definitions of woman's role in the family, and perceived differences regarding her compatibility with male colleagues. Women academics were judged not solely by their 'merit' but by personality factors and assumptions about their success in combining their careers and family.

When comments are made concerning the differential salaries and hiring practices of males and females in academia, the question is invariably raised, "Are women as productive as men?" Unfortunately, 'productivity' is usually measured by a frequency count of academic publications to the exclusion of such significant contributions as teaching load, committee involvement, counselling of students, and consulting.

Budner and Meyer (1964) studied the 'productivity' of academic women in the social sciences by counting their publications and, controlling for age and type of school, found that women were less productive than men. However, they also found that the institutional environment and the encouragement to publish were factors which significantly affected the publication rates of academics. Scientists were found to be more 'productive' than non-scientists--and women are under-represented in the sciences. Doctorates published more than those without the Ph.D degree, and only fifty-two per cent of the women, compared to seventy-two per cent of the men in their sample, has Ph.D's. Those who taught in large universities published more than those in colleges, and women are under-represented in large universities. Budner and Meyer explained women's lower level of productivity as a result of 'discrimination.'

> For every age and productivity group, the women professors are much less likely than the men to have received large salary increases. . . . This is true for all types of schools. . . . On each age and productivity level, women are much less likely to have reached one of the higher ranks. Again . . . this is true for each type of school, including women's colleges.[9]

A recent study by Guyer and Fidell (1973) investigated the publication rates of male and female psychologists in the United States and found that women do publish less than men but that the difference is only significant at the associate and full professor levels. On the average, men publish .61 papers per year and women publish .21 papers per year. They concluded that the 'cost' of hiring a woman in a psychology department is very minor--only about a half paper per year.

Bernard (1964: 150ff) discusses possible reasons for women's lower productivity: more domestic responsibilities, less need to earn money to support the family, lack of interest in research, and more time spent on teaching. We could further add that large teaching loads, combined with lower rank and less remuneration, decrease the time and energy to devote to research and publications.

Much has been written about women tending to be teachers rather than researchers and working in smaller and less technical institutions. These positions are often considered to be less prestigious jobs (Berelson, 1960; Astin, 1969; Bernard, 1964). According to Bernard, women are seldom found in the 'man-of-knowledge' role which involves an obligation to participate in conflict and debate and a rather blatant profession of expertise. She feels that women have been socialized to have personalities which are not totally compatible with this professorial role. Women are under-represented as innovators because the innovator role is socially defined as 'masculine.' For example, a creative act frequently must be 'sold' to a resisting public, which requires a certain amount of self-assertion and aggressiveness.

If women are clustered in teaching positions and have large undergraduate courses, they are going to be found less 'productive' if 'productivity' is defined as doing those things which men usually do. Is it a case of women being assigned those tasks within the profession which are considered to be of less value or less prestigious because they lack the power to resist, or do women gravitate to those positions which they consider to be important, while the male majority defines the values of the profession? This question can perhaps be answered through the interviews of the present study.

Several studies have indicated that professional women have different career patterns than professional men (Bernard, 1964; Epstein, 1971; Judek, 1968). For instance, teaching and government work seem to be more frequent occupational channels for women, and business and industry for men. In a recent study of the Federal Public Service in Canada (Judek, 1968), it was found that of the professionals employed by the government, about twenty-eight per cent of the women and only sixteen per cent of the men had previous experience working in educational institutions. But about twenty per cent of the women, compared to forty-one per cent of the men, had previous experience in business and industry.

These findings would be consistent with the fact that academic men more frequently engage in research (Bernard, 1964) which involves such business-like activities as handling large sums of money, coordinating personnel and ideas, and bargaining for facilities and financial resources. If research and publishing are those areas most likely to bring academic promotion (Caplow and McGee, 1958) and women do not participate in these activities to the same extent as men (Bernard, 1964; Guyer and Fidell, 1973), then women are professionally in a disadvantageous position. Although there is no explicit indication that women are unable to adequately perform those tasks considered necessary for academic advancement, there is an indication from the literature on differential socialization that males are more likely to develop such characteristics as independence, aggressiveness, confidence in their own abilities, and management skills (Epstein, 1971; Douvan, 1957; Maccoby, 1966). In other words, women are frequently not socialized to fit into professional occupations, as well as being encouraged, once in the profession, to concentrate on professionally unrewarding activities (Astin, 1969; Epstein, 1971).

In conclusion, females are less likely than men to continue on to graduate studies, regardless of ability (Bernard, 1964; Rossi, 1970; Epstein, 1971). Because academic positions are often filled through 'sponsored' rather than 'contest' mobility, women may have more difficulty finding a permanent teaching position than men. Once hired, women have less chance of being promoted and receive lower salaries than men with the same qualifications (Robson and Lapointe, 1971; Lewin and Duchin, 1971; American Sociological Association Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, 1973; Simon, Clark, and Galway, 1967; LaSorte, 1971; Bayer and Astin, 1968).

Because they often have sessional appointments, large teaching loads, and less access to travel and research funds (Committee on the Status of Women, 1972), academic women when compared to academic men are less frequently involved in research and thus publish slightly less (Guyer and Fidell, 1973). Although most American studies on university professors have uncovered this sex difference in 'productivity," Simon, et al. (1967), found that the publication rates of men and women Ph.D's (including those in industry and in government work) are very similar, but that married women published more than unmarried women in every field. However, they further noted that married women were less likely to receive tenure, high rank, and research grants than unmarried women or men. These conclusions could be interpreted that married women become very 'productive' in an attempt to overcome the perceived disadvantages of their marital status. This would perhaps partially explain the situation of those women whom we labelled as "Queen Bees' in Chapter Seven.

In addition to these professional disadvantages which academic women sometimes experience, women generally have the responsibility for child care and household maintenance--responsibilities which men seldom have. This would put an extra strain on married women especially--causing them to give up any hopes of academic advancement or to become "super-women." We noted both kinds of married women in the present study. The only difference we could find between these two types of women was in their apparent attitudes toward success and general motivational factors.

In this chapter, we have indicated, by referring to previous studies, that women in academia hold a minority group status. Despite the "unfair competition" which women must counteract, they are sometimes accused of bringing this status upon themselves by being "unprofessional" or "uncommitted." These labels are further used for not hiring women or not giving them the usual salary increments which men receive.

The following chapter will address itself to academic ideologies and their effect upon women and minority group members. The data for the next three chapters is largely from the interview results of the present study. However, before we can examine the results of the case studies, we must examine the distribution of the sample from which these case histories were derived.

Distribution of the Sample

The sample for the present study consisted of thirty-nine "academic" women at a Western Canadian University.[10] Women from four academic categories were contacted by telephone or in person. Women who had full-time appointments, sessional appointments, doctoral students, and former doctoral students who had previously withdrawn from a Ph.D programme at this university, were interviewed. Table Nine gives some indication of the distribution of the sample by rank.

Table Nine

Distribution of the Sample by Rank

Full professor[1]	5
Associate professor	9
Assistant professor	6
Lecturer and professional officer	4
Sessional lecturer	6
Doctoral student	6
Former doctoral student	3
Total	39

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[1] One of these full professors was also the chairman of her department.

Women from seven different faculties and twenty-three different departments were contacted for the present study. Table Ten shows the number of women interviewed in each department and faculty.

Table Eleven indicates the breakdown of the sample by marital status. Although the majority of women in the sample were married, we note that one-third of them are single and have never been previously married. This high percentage of single women is consistent with the findings of Bernard (1964) and Simon, Clark, and Galway (1967). This is also an indication of the continuing perception of the incompatibility between marriage and a professional career in university teaching for women.

It should be noted that a large proportion of the sample is divorced, compared to the national divorce rates. Three women in the sample were divorced, which is about seven per cent of our sample. Despite the fact that our sample is small, this can be compared to figures from Kalbach and McVey (1971: 269) who indicate that 0.4 per cent of the Canadian population aged fifteen years and older were divorced in 1961. Additionally, three of the twenty-two married women in the sample indicated that they had been previously married and divorced. This is a further indication that the divorce rate as well as the marriage rate of academic women in not "typical" of the general Canadian population.

Table Twelve indicates that the majority of married women university professors in this sample were married to other university professors. Of the twenty-six women who have been married at one time, fifteen were married to academic men. The rest of the women in the sample were married to men with other professional occupations. Of the

Table Ten

Distribution of the Sample by Faculty and Department, and Number of Women Employed Full-time and as Sessional Appointments in these Departments, 1974 (Academic Teaching Positions Only)

Faculty	Department	Number in Sample	Number of Full-time Women in Department[1]	Number of Full-time Women in Department[1]
Arts	Anthropology	2	2	1
	Classics	1	2	0
	Drama	1	4	0
	Economics	1	1	3
	English	4	13	4
	History	2	5	2
	Germanic Lang.	1	1	5
	Political Sci.	1	1	0
	Sociology	2	0	1
Science	Linguistics	1	2	0
	Genetics	1	0	0
	Geography	2	0	1
	Mathematics	2	2	1
	Psychology	1	3	2
	Zoology	3	2	1
Medicine	Biochemistry	1	0	0
	Medical Bact.	1	2	4
	Pathology	1	-[2]	-
Education	Educational Foundations	2	2	3
	Elementary Educ.	4	15	10
Physical Educ.	Physical Educ.	3	8	0
Law		1	1	1
Dentistry		1	1	0

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[1] This information was obtained by telephone from departmental secretaries, as the author was unable to obtain it from the Department of Institutional Research and Planning. Therefore, these are not "official" figures.

[2] Information not available.

Table Eleven

Distribution of the Sample by Marital Status

Married[1]	22
Single	13
Separated/Divorced	3
Widowed	1
Total	39

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[1] Of those who are presently married, three indicated that they have been married before. One woman had been married three times.

Table Twelve

Occupation of the Husband of the Interviewees

Husband's Occupation	Number of Women
No husband	13
University professor	15
Doctor	1
Lawyer	2
Teacher	3
Other professional	5
Total	39

fifteen women who were married to academic men, three had the same rank as their husbands, and twelve had a lower rank. In no case did the wife have a higher professorial rank than her husband.

Table Thirteen indicates that most of the mothers of women in the sample were not gainfully employed. However, a greater proportion of these women were in the labour force than would have been expected from census figures on the participation rates of women. For example, if we assume that the mothers of the women in the sample are now deceased or too elderly to be in the labour force, we could compare their participation rates with those of twenty years ago in Canada.

Table Thirteen

Mother's Occupation of Women in the Sample

Not gainfully employed		23
	Housewife	21
	Farmer	2
Gainfully employed		15
	Teacher	6
	Nurse	2
	Clerical worker	4
	Other professional	3
No response		1
	Total in Sample	39

This would give us some indication of their participation in the labour force about a generation ago, with a comparison of the proportion of women in the labour force at the same time. In 1951, about twenty-four per cent of women over the age of fourteen were gainfully employed.

The fact that about forty per cent of the mothers of the women sampled were gainfully employed throughout the childhood of the women is an indication that they came from an atypical group of mothers.

There is a further indication that the mothers of these women were highly educated and employed in essentially professional occupations. Of the fifteen mothers who were gainfully employed, eleven had "professional" occupations.

When we look at the occupations of the fathers of the women interviewed, we find that the vast majority were either professionals or businessmen (Table Fourteen). If we assume that the occupation of the husband in the family is an indication of the "socio-economic status" of the family, we could say that these women are largely from upper-middle class backgrounds.

Table Fourteen

Father's Occupation of Women in Sample

Father's Occupation	Number in Sample
Businessman	13
Professional	14
Clerical/Office	4
Other	5
No answer	3
Total	39

Table Fifteen shows the age distribution of the academic women in the sample.

Table Fifteen

Age Distribution of Academic Women in the Sample

Age	Number in Sample
Under 30 years old	7
30-34 years	8
35-39 years	8
40-44 years	2
45-54 years	8
55 years or more	6
Total	39

Table Sixteen gives some indication of the distribution of the sample by department of the university, by comparing the number of women in the sample to the number in each department covered by the study. We have shown the number of full-time and sessional women interviewed and the total number of such women in that particular department.

This description of the sample gives some indication of the characteristics of the women who participated in the interviews. Analysis of the interviews will lead to some conclusions as to whether women are conscious of the fact that they occupy a lower status as a group, and whether they attribute this position to ascribed characteristics such as gender.

Table Sixteen

Number of Faculty* and Sessional Women Interviewed, and Total Number of Faculty and Sessional Women in the Department, 1973-74

Department	Faculty Women		Sessional Women	
	Interviewed	Total in Department	Interviewed	Total in Department
Anthropology	1	2	1	1
Classics	1	2	0	0
Drama	1	4	0	0
Economics	1	1	0	3
English	2	13	1	4
History	2	5	0	2
Germanic Lang.	0	1	1	5
Political Sci.	1	1	0	0
Geography	0	0	1	1
Mathematics	1	2	1	1
Psychology	1	3	0	2
Zoology	0	2	1	1
Medical Bact.	1	2	0	4
Educational Found.	1	2	0	3
Elementary Educ.	2	15	2	10
Physical Educ.	3	8	0	0
Law	1	1	0	1
Dentistry	1	1	0	0

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*Faculty members include assistant professors, associate and full professors. Students, former students, and professional officers are excluded from this table.

We will be considering in the following chapters whether or not women in academia can be classified as a "minority group" according to the definition in Chapter One of this dissertation. In other words, are women aware of their minority group status--do they perceive their sex to be a disability to their job?

Footnotes to Chapter Four

[1] D. R. Webb, "The Employment of 1970 Sociology Graduates: A Preliminary Report," Sociology 6 (Number 3, September) 1972: 433-42.

[2] Although women can achieve upward mobility through an advantageous marriage, it is erroneous to give the impression that it is a frequent occurrence. It is comparable to the "rags to riches myth" (Lenski, 1966: 14) and could serve as a rationalization for excluding women from occupational rewards.

[3] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Publication 81-203, Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers in Universities and Colleges: 1969-70 (Ottawa).

[4] Naomi Hersom, "The Status of Professional Women in the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta." An unpublished paper presented to the Delta Kappa Gamma Society, Edmonton, February 11, 1970.

[5] Committee on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta, Preliminary Report (Chairperson, Dr. Jean Lauber), 1972: 1.

[6] New Trail, the University of Alberta Magazine, October 1973: 4-6.

[7] Simon, Clark, and Galway, "The Woman Ph.D: A Recent Profile," Social Problems 15 (Fall 1967): 221-36.

[8] R. A. H. Robson and Mireille Lapointe, "A Comparison of Men's and Women's Salaries and Employment Fringe Benefits in the Academic Profession." Prepared for the Canadian Association of University Teachers; Study Number One, Studies for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1971.

[9] Budner and Meyer, "Women Professors": 16. (Cited in Jessie Bernard, 1964: 150.)

[10] The sample was originally comprised of forty women. However, the fortieth, who was a "Ph.D drop-out," could not be contacted by telephone or mail.

CHAPTER FIVE

IDEOLOGY AND CONFLICT

Introduction

Thorstein Veblen, in The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899), speaks of the close affiliation of the professors of the university to the priestly class. He indicates that their activity falls under the category of "conspicuous leisure" known as manners and breeding. The learned class in all primitive societies are great sticklers for form, precedent, gradation of rank, ritual, ceremonial vestments, and learned paraphernalia generally.

The twentieth century attitude of both schools and the learned class towards the education of women, according to Veblen, shows how learning has departed from its previous priestly and leisure class affiliations. The higher schools and the learned professions were until recently taboo to women, as they were originally, and to a certain extent still are, to the subservient class. There has been an attitude, according to Veblen, that the admission of women to the privileges of higher education would be derogatory to the "dignity of the learned craft."

There was therefore a reluctance to admit women, especially to the most reputable universities. Veblen continued:

> It is felt that the woman should, in all propriety, acquire only such knowledge as may be classed under one or other of the two heads: (1) such knowledge as conduces immediately to a better performance of domestic service--the domestic

> sphere; (2) such accomplishments and dexterity, quasi-scholarly and quasi-artistic, as plainly comes under the head of vicarious leisure. Knowledge is felt to be unfeminine if it is knowledge which expresses the unfolding of the learner's own life. . . . All knowledge which is useful as evidence of leisure, other than vicarious leisure, is scarcely feminine.[1]

The present absence of women faculty in universities in general, and specifically within certain disciplines such as philosophy and physics, is an indication that Veblen's comments still have relevance today. Women are clustered in certain fields which are perceived as being consistent with the "female role"--such as nursing and household economics--and have been discouraged from entering the more prestigious "masculine domains" in the physical sciences, law, and medicine. A woman university professor is still seldom seen as a scholar but rather is encouraged to develop teaching skills and to combine her domestic and occupational life so that she does not become too "involved" in her scholarly pursuits (Bernard, 1964: 176).

Gouldner (1970: 440-41) remarks that for tenured faculty the university is a realm of congenial and leisured servitude, a realm in which the academic is esteemed for his learning but "castrated" as a political being.

This attitude that one can completely separate one's personal and political existence from one's scholarly writing is an issue which is frequently debated within the social sciences. In discussions of "objectivity" and "value freedom," it is stated that it is not only possible, but essential, to separate one's opinions and values from academic pursuits (Popper, 1963; Lundberg, 1953).

However, by adopting a particular orientation within the social sciences, the values and interests of the author necessarily influence the mode of analysis and the research conclusions. Moreover, the structure of the university and the processes of decision-making -ithin departments dictate that the university professor must involve himself in "political" activity--negotiation, bargaining, and compromise. Decisions concerning hiring and promotion, the acceptance of new graduate students, and the formulation of departmental policies are supposed to be made "objectively," but will be shown through this study to involve personal prejudices and preferences. In other words, when we look at the social organization of a group of professionals, rather than at the rules by which they say they are playing, we get a more accurate indication of the discrepancies between ideologies and realities.

Bucher and Strauss (1961) noted that there have been two common approaches to the sociology of professions in the literature. The "normative-structural approach" is typified by Goode (1957) and Parsons (1939). Despite the fact that this approach has stressed the incompatibility between professionalism and bureaucracy, we are critical of the over-emphasis on shared identity, consensus of values, and commitments and interests among professionals. By concentrating on consensus, authors adopting this perspective have avoided discussions of conflicts of interests, professional segmentation, and hierarchies within professional associations.

The "process" or "emergent approach," which Bucher and Strauss (1961) suggest, follows the tradition of symbolic interactionism. They emphasized intra-professional diversity, conflict of interests, heterogeneity of roles and definitions, and the multiplicity of identities related to divergent professional ideologies (Pannu, 1973: 63ff).

Bucher and Strauss refer to professions as loose amalgamations of segments with diverse identities, which tend to assume the form of social movements within the larger profession. They focus on the dynamic and developmental aspects of roles and role-playing, assuming that roles are subject to continual negotiation and change. In this second model of the professions, organizational structure is viewed as emergent social order consisting of competing professional values and doctrines.

Each of the above approaches to the study of professions draws attention to a different source of conflict. The "normative-structural" approach stresses the conflict between professionalism and bureaucratic structures, and the "process" approach emphasizes conflicts of interests and ideologies. Both models, however, could be complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Pannu (1973) suggested a "political process" model which attempts to combine aspects of both models while emphasizing the conflict approach. He stated that decision-making in the university is characterized by transactional and exchange processes of negotiation, bargaining, and compromise. He stressed that conflict and power struggles within university departments are aimed at gaining effective control over policy formulation and the determination of goals. Conflict between interest groups arise over attempts to modify the application of the rules or to change the rules themselves (Pannu: 1973: 88ff).

The present study will adopt a similar "political process" model as that formulated by Pannu. Conflicts of interest, and the processes of bargaining, negotiation, and compromise, will be accentuated throughout this analysis of the position of women in academia. Although it must be emphasized that the women who were interviewed in this study seldom saw their own position in terms of absence of power, it was evident that their situation could be interpreted in this light.

Because of the political nature of departmental organization in universities, women, who have traditionally remained outside of direct political activities, remain further excluded. Assumptions about the abilities and interests of women are supposed to preclude aggressive power-seeking behaviour. A woman who actively attempts to gain power in a department is often discouraged by her colleagues because her behaviour is considered inappropriate "feminine" behaviour. The women in the sample gave the impression that they were perceived as non-stereotypic females by their colleagues.

Some of the comments from the interviews indicate that women who were perceived as "aggressive" were discouraged from aspiring to positions of power within their departments. For example, one full professor in the faculty of science was discouraged by her colleagues from aspiring to the position of department chairman. They claimed that others would object to a female in this position of authority--"sex would make a difference."

An associate professor in a department of the faculty of medicine had shared control of the laboratories with a man who had a formal appointment, but was not given a formal appointment herself even when this man died. At the age of fifty-two, she remains an associate professor, with less real influence in the department than she previously had, as a consequence of reorganization.

A married doctoral student in the humanities, who was about thirty years old, often expressed her views in class. Consequently, she was viewed by some of her fellow students as a "bitch," because "I didn't know my place." She felt that the male graduate students were "threatened" by her competence and articulateness. In other words, women are socialized to be non-aggressive and apolitical and are criticized by peers and colleagues if they adopt a more forceful stance.

One woman in the sample, who was about sixty years old, had achieved the rank of full professor and chairman of her department. She impressed the interviewer as a soft-spoken woman who would not appear as a "threat" because of her "quiet competence." Although this woman remained single and was very devoted to her discipline, she did not believe that academic women should "push for equality" but rather they should be inconspicuously competent. Perhaps due to this "feminine" approach to her occupational life, she was requested by her colleagues to accept the chairmanship.

Few people will admit that they are prejudiced against a particular group of people, and few recognize when their own behaviour is discriminatory. However, their definitions of situations, values, tacit assumptions, and general "world views" can be such that they unconsciously exclude opinions or concerns of minority group members. Additionally, their ideologies may become a "facade" which is presented as a public explanation of their behaviour.

Ideologies in academia have the effect of making ideals and practices of the profession seem more lofty than they are in reality.

Ideologies justify the amount of control which academics have over the futures of each other and those aspiring to the field, as well as justifying their large salaries and generous fringe benefits. In other words, stating that recruitment and promotion are on the basis of "merit" serves to prevent people from questioning the judgments of the hiring and promotion committees, since the term "merit" has such honourable connotations within the profession. It further discourages people from initiating debate concerning the value and validity of the criteria used to evaluate merit.

The ideology of equal opportunity in North American society also buttresses the claim that academic judgments are based on merit. It specifies that everyone has the opportunity to exploit his or her full potential and that the exploitation of the individual's potential is beneficial to society (Epstein, 1971: 34). In other words, 'society' loses when it fails to utilize talent.

Specific talents, however, are unequally attributed to different sectors of the population in North American ideology, presenting a contradictory picture of the opportunity structure. Talents are socially defined and associated with such factors as gender, social class, and ethnicity, as was indicated by Porter (1965), to mention but one example.

The case of women's equality with men is a good example of the social distribution of talents and abilities. Few people would argue that women should not have the same legal rights as men, but many still cannot adjust to the participation of women in public life or professional occupations on an equal basis with men. In fact, it has been said ". . . sex prejudice is the only prejudice considered to be socially acceptable" in North America.[2] Although this statement ignores the prevalence of class prejudice and the continuing prejudice on the basis of racial origin, it does make the point that until recently the differential treatment of men and women was not perceived as unequal. It was merely "natural," as it was based on assumptions of biological and psychological differences between the sexes.

The particular application of the differential opportunity structures for men and women is examined here in the first hypothesis. The "ideology hypothesis," delineated in Chapter Three, stated that the academic profession operates under the guise of a professed belief in "professionalism" and universalistic standards of hiring and promotion while, in fact, particularistic standards are in operation which work against the interests of women and other minority groups.

In Chapter Three we also mentioned that four values are frequently associated with professionalism: expertise, autonomy, commitment, and responsibility (Strauss, 1963). Expertise refers to specialized knowledge and skills which are obtained through training, usually academic. Autonomy refers to the right to decide how the professional's function is to be performed and to free it from lay restrictions. By commitment, Strauss refers to feelings of loyalty to the profession and to the public rather than to the particular organization by which he or she is employed. Finally, the professional feels a responsibility to society for the maintenance of professional standards of work. Through codes of ethics, professions support self-discipline rather than control from the public or government.

This summary of values associated with professionalism remains rather idealistic. In practice, "autonomy" for a profession often means restricting access to training so that only those with similar values and life-styles are accepted. It means maximizing fees and salaries and, sometimes, reducing working hours while retaining the same fee schedule. And it frequently means protecting each other from the infringements of other professional segments or from the general public. Additionally, autonomy and expertise involve maintaining a "publicity image" which maximizes the prestige and power of the profession.

It is apparent that the literature on the professions remains heavily ideological and conservative, presenting people within this occupational category as highly altruistic and service-oriented. Further analysis of the academic profession has indicated that this view is unrealistic.

Academic women are criticized for introducing "unprofessional changes" into a profession (Simpson and Simpson, 1969). They are frequently criticized for their lack of "commitment" to the profession as well as their lack of expertise. As we have indicated in Chapter Four, "expertise" is difficult to judge in the university setting, and thus it is hard for women themselves to counteract these criticisms. Some of the comments from the interviews discuss women's perceptions of academic ideologies as well as their attitudes towards the application of these academic and professional ideals.

Female Expertise and Commitment Questioned

As indicated in the preceding section and in Chapter Three, universalistic standards which are alleged to be employed in hiring and promotion decisions in academia are seldom applied in reality.

A number of women in the interviews referred to particularistic practices in academia. For example, one young doctoral student, who was recently separated from her husband, indicated: ". . . Is it essential to have an equal number of women in academia? . . . getting a person who can best fill the job is more important. But strings are pulled anyway when people get academic positions." She further indicated that she would never get hired at this university ". . . because I have a reputation of being unstable."

A former doctoral student in the faculty of science, who is presently employed as a professional in a private consulting firm, stated that ". . . the job market has not been good for science doctorates, and you need lots and lots of pull. You won't get in unless you are exceptional." She further mentioned that "Women certainly are not sponsored as frequently [as men], and if they are sponsored by a female faculty member, it's a weaker pull."

Another woman in the faculty of medicine, who is an associate professor, has worked at this university in the same department for about thirty years. Until recently, she was in a position of relatively high power. She and a man were joint directors, and although her position was not a formal appointment, she did all the personnel work. However, as her position was not formalized, she was "demoted" when the official director died. Despite the fact that she had had every job in that division with the exception of director, a man was brought in from the outside to be director. She noted that two of her female friends, with the same qualifications as herself, are directors of the school of nursing and the school of household economics. She stated that because she was a woman in a male-dominated field, she was not able to reach the top. She further indicated that in order to get promoted in her division, ". . . the autocrat [present director] has to like you."

One older woman, who had a sessional appointment in the faculty of science, indicated that certain minority group characteristics worked against her when she applied for admission to the faculty of medicine at McGill University in the 1940's. When asked reasons for her refusal by the faculty, she replied, "I had four strikes against me--I was female, Jewish, was a refugee, and had no "pull" or "influence." This woman, who is still a sessional in her fifties, mentioned that she rebelled against the "feminist influence" in her home. Her mother was a doctor, her aunt a Ph.D in chemistry, her sister a full professor at Harvard University, and her other sister, now deceased, a medical student. This woman married while still in university, and had a baby as soon as she finished her master's degree. Her career admittedly played a secondary role to her husband's, and she stated that she was "agreeable to this." This fact seemed to be contradictory to her statements concerning the disadvantageous position of women in academia and her work with the Senate Task Force on the Status of Women at this university. She was displeased with the lower status of women in the university, but she was not prepared to improve her own personal position.

Lewin and Duchin (1971) completed a study of the hiring decisions in departments in the physical sciences and found that women faculty are evaluated on the basis of different criteria than are males when they compete for positions in academia. These criteria appear to be based on personal values and attitudes reflecting widely-held, socially accepted beliefs regarding the role of women in the family and the perceived difficulties regarding her compatibility with male colleagues. It was evident from this study that many people still believe that women's place is in the home--especially if they have young children.

Indications that personal characteristics affect one's status in academia was expressed by some women in the interviews. Twenty-five women out of thirty-nine gave some example of a situation which they themselves labelled as unequal and discriminatory. For example, one doctoral student felt that her professors had viewed her as a "quaint oddity" and a "talking dog" when she showed interest in continuing on for a doctoral degree. Because she was married to a university professor, it was assumed that she would be content to stay at home and look after her children. She felt that her marriage to a professor has made her career difficult in other ways, in that "Faculty members felt uncomfortable with me in the class and sometimes used more rigorous standards to counteract the 'advantage' that I was supposed to have." She also mentioned that she had not been eligible for any assistantships because of her status as "faculty wife" and therefore was not able to reap the benefit of the teaching experience which accompanies such assistantships. She also felt that female professors were ". . . challenged at the beginning by both colleagues and students, and are sometimes treated as sex objects or threats rather than professionals."

Several women in the interviews mentioned that they perceived prejudice or negative attitudes from their students concerning the fact that they were female professors. One woman, who is an associate professor in the social sciences, stated that she feels there is a ". . . latent disapproval of a female economics professor among the students when I meet them for the first time." She feels that she had had to "establish" herself with them, and then after two or three sessions, the feeling is gone.

An assistant professor in education mentioned that ". . . subtle discrimination from students is also a problem for the woman academic. They often question one's reasons for working, generally giving less respect and authority to a woman, and sometimes make inappropriate sexual comments that aren't made about male professors." She concluded that some women in academia do not recognize these issues as discrimination unless it is pointed out to them. Yet she feels that all these factors put pressure on the female academic and make her job more difficult.

A sessional appointee in the social sciences indicated that irrelevant factors enter into promotional decisions in the university. Although she feels that publishing, essentially, is likely to bring advancement to the university teacher, she stated that "being young and male are also important." She quickly apologized for this statement, adding that she feels that university regulations are made flexible for certain people but not for others.

Patterson (1971), in a study of women faculty in graduate departments of sociology, stated that universally applied criteria for academic promotion assume that women are men at the same time that the structure of the department denies the truth of this premise. For example, it was assumed that the career patterns of women and their personal situations were the same as those of men. However, because women were operating within a structure which made no allowance for childbearing and assumed that a spouse was at home maintaining the household, women were at a disadvantage. She felt that the system of sponsored mobility in academia systematically excluded women from organizational rewards and that, generally speaking, the structure of academia has been designed throughout time to routinely accommodate the work needs of the male professional.

Special leaves of absence for research or political office; reduced teaching loads for those with heavy administrative responsibilities; joint appointments for people with expertise in two fields; and part-time appointments for senior faculty--these are the adjustments which are built into the system for men to allow for demands on their time and energy. Although these adjustments are only an advantage if they are requested, and are not forced upon the faculty member, they are accommodations frequently made for faculty members.

Yet, similar adjustments are seldom made for the particular demands that may be made on women. For example, married women with children or pregnant women who wish to return to their careers after only a short leave of absence are not accommodated by the system. In fact, requests for maternity leave are sometimes used as an example of women's lack of commitment to their careers and as an indication of a conflict of interests.

A number of women in the interviews, but in fact a small minority, mentioned that the university structure made "life difficult for women." For instance, one professional officer in the faculty of science stated that, "If a woman is married, there is the care and illnesses of the children to worry about. One would need the complete support of a husband to survive in an institution which makes it difficult for women to have children." When asked how the university made this difficult, she answered, "You never know if you will lose your seniority or if it will affect your publications if you take off time to have children." This woman, who is in her early fifties, had three children. She had difficulties finding a university position, as her husband was a professor and nepotism rules interfered with her appointment. It was not until she obtained a divorce from her husband that she was given a permanent position and a pay raise--almost as though her divorce was proof of her "commitment."

Another associate professor in the faculty of arts mentioned that one of the colleges at which she was employed had a regulation that pregnant women had to quit after their fifth month. As she was in the process of directing a play when she was pregnant with her third child, she didn't want to take any time off. She dramatically told the interviewer how she attempted to conceal her pregnancy until her seventh month, when she finally had to tell her chairman because it was becoming obvious that she was pregnant. Because she was so vehement about wanting to stay on at the college until she actually gave birth, her chairman allowed her to do this.

One female sessional in the faculty of science, who was interviewed in the present study, commented that, "University teaching is not the type of occupation in which one can drop out and get back again successfully. This is because of the rigid system of promotion and advancement, which is not designed to keep women out, but does keep others [minority group members] out." She felt that, "Flexibilities should be built into the system."

It was apparent from both the literature and the interview results that being a female implies to some people that one is less competent than a man. For example, Goldberg (1968) found a correlation between a person's sex and the perception of their competence, so that women are seen as less competent. When the same scholarly articles with male and female names were rated, the sample of female college students rated the articles assumed to be authored by a man more highly than they rated the same article assumed to be written by a woman. The general bias by women against women is strongest in the traditionally "masculine" fields of law and city planning but is also evident in fields such as elementary school-teaching and dietetics. Clearly, there was a tendency among these women to downgrade the work of professionals of their own sex.

The fact that the competence of women academics is frequently questioned, while that of the male professor is often assumed, was frequently repeated in the interviews. A major complaint of the women in the sample was that women were not recognized as competent unless they were "superior." For example, one doctoral student in the humanities stated that ". . . female professors have to publish more and better articles and have to have more and better graduate students to receive any recognition. If they don't do this, they are treated with patriarchal tolerance, but they don't exist as far as major decision-making in the department."

Another comment which was frequently made in the interviews, indicating that women's competence was questioned, was that ". . . in coming to a new place, you have to re-establish your credibility and worth. I think that this is *harder* for a woman." One assistant professor in the social sciences indicated that she was often mistaken for a secretary by both staff and students because she shares a telephone with a male colleague. She resents this mistaken identity very much. Another assistant professor stated: "You have to *prove yourself* for the first few weeks--prove that you know the material. This is not difficult to do--just a waste of time." She generally felt that students do not take a woman professor seriously. With respect to the lack of recognition in academia, one full professor in the faculty of science indicated, "If a woman says something at a meeting, it is often ignored until a man repeats the same idea and everyone thinks it's wonderful." Consequently, she mentioned that she does talk as much in meetings now.

This same woman had mentioned her interest in becoming chairman of her department but said that her colleagues thought that ". . . sex would make a difference in this case." However, this woman insisted that women don't have any problems in academia, ". . . *except what they bring upon themselves*."

One assistant professor mentioned that women were sometimes overlooked in academia. "Habit is the main thing working against women.

For instance, men don't think of putting women on committees, and things like this have to be brought to their attention."

In a study by Henshel (1973) of two hundred York University students, twenty per cent admitted that they personally preferred male professors and the remainder of the sample expressed no preference. No one stated that they preferred a woman professor. This indicates that prejudgments of competence are sometimes based on biological sex, inferring that women are less competent than men.

One woman who was interviewed, an associate professor in the social sciences, recalled applying for a position in a Western Canadian university in 1968 and being told bluntly by the chairman that "his colleagues wouldn't tolerate a woman on staff." She mentioned, with respect to her own department, that ". . . several fuddy-duddies object to being out-published by a woman, and a few are definitely prejudiced against women, but these people do not interfere with my career in any way."

Another female sessional appointee in the humanities related her experiences when she was interviewed for a teaching job in a small women's college in Missouri. The chairman told her that he had called all the male applicants for the job first, even though she was more qualified than they were. He explained to her that they preferred to hire male professors as "the girls prefer male teachers." Although the college was entirely female in its student body, about one-half of the staff was male.

One sessional in the faculty of science stated that: "The university attempts to get the most out of women, and offers them the least amount of money they can get away with. Men still think that we are working for 'pin' money or to fill our hours." A similar comment was made by an assistant professor in the faculty of law. When she first joined the faculty, she heard a number of her male colleagues say, "What do we need a doctor's wife for," indicating that she did not "have to" work. She stated that she has been constantly fighting the image of the "doctor's wife" who is just working "to amuse myself or make a point." She referred to herself as the "token woman" in the faculty of law.

This argument that women do not "have to" work is often used as a rationalization for hiring or salary discrimination. However, because hiring and salary have never been on the basis of need in a capitalist country, but rather depend on negotiation as well as "qualifications," this argument breaks down.

A comment was made by three of the women interviewed that it was "their own fault" that they were discriminated against. For example, women blamed themselves for "not fighting for my rights" or "assuming that I would be fairly treated." They sometimes referred to their own naivety for making certain assumptions about the functioning of academia, such as paying people on the basis of their qualifications, giving them a rank commensurate with their qualifications, and promoting faculty on the basis of their productivity and teaching competence rather than on ascribed statuses such as gender. Women who were in a low-ranking position were more likely to express these attitudes than those above the level of assistant professor. Some illustrative examples of this are presented with the discussion of perception of salary differentials.

It seemed that women were socialized to accept less than their male counterparts or were so naive that they thought at first that they were being fairly treated. A striking example of this process is the experience of a woman in education who left a religious order and a position as dean of an Eastern Canadian University and chairman of her department to come to this university. When she arrived, they gave her a sessional appointment and a very low salary. She requested a raise and an appointment and was told that she would have to wait for the following year, as she had signed a contract. When she made a similar request the following year, they offered her an assistant professorship. On her refusing this, they gave her an associate professorship. This is just another indication that salary and rank are issues which must be bargained for and are not based entirely on qualifications and experience. Because many women felt that they would be treated fairly without "pushing" for their rights, they exposed themselves to exploitation.

In some cases, women rationalized their sessional appointments and low salaries by stating that they were "grateful for the appointment." This was especially the case for women who were married to academic husbands and who had difficulty finding employment at the same university. After their husbands were established in a full-time job, the wife was sometimes unemployed for a year. When she finally was given a sessional appointment, it was such a relief to be working that she sometimes accepted any offer--asking few questions about salary and without attempting to bargain for anything 'better.'

One full professor, who had been hired at this university with a Ph.D, mentioned that she received a sessional appointment and one-third the salary that her husband received without a doctorate. However, she quickly added, "I wanted a part-time position until I was sure that I could handle a full-time job and my baby." Despite the fact that she was doing the equivalent of a full-time job, she stated that her salary "seemed reasonable at the time" and would not refer to this as discrimination.

Personal information, such as marital status and spouse's occupation, is sometimes considered to be valuable information if the applicant is female but irrelevant if the applicant is male. For example, one married woman was almost refused admission to a Ph.D programme at this university because she was seen as a "poor risk" and a "butterfly." She had taken off a year during her master's programme to accompany her anthropologist husband to Africa so that he could complete his doctoral research, and she taught school during this time. On the basis of this information, it was surmised that she was "not serious about her own work" and that she "would take off somewhere with her husband again." There was no indication among the members of the acceptance committee that this woman had merely obeyed the domicile laws of this country by living with her husband. Two members of the committee emphatically stated that ". . . we don't want that kind of student in our programme" until they were accused of "sex discrimination." They then relented and agreed to accept the woman.

References to personality and appearance were often found in the letters of recommendation for female students. It was also found that a student with 'questionable' qualifications or relatively low grades was more likely to be accepted to the university as a graduate student if he or she was personally known or liked by a faculty member. This may be seen as an indication of the exercise of particularistic standards and the operation of the sponsor system of graduate education.

It has been the author's experience that many rules are purposely kept informal so that there is some 'flexibility' in their application. This is generally perceived as an advantage, but in many cases the rule can be interpreted and applied to the disadvantage of an unpopular person in the department. For example, rules against hiring the university's own graduates or hiring husbands and wives in the same department and enforcing residence requirements for graduate students are frequently applied and interpreted differently for different people.

From participating as a graduate student representative on a number of departmental committees,[3] it is evident that the criteria for the selection of graduate students, for example, are often not made explicit. In some cases, implications are drawn from small comments in letters of recommendation which may override the official transcripts of marks and other documents in the student's vitae when he or she applied for graduate school.

There was some feeling among a minority of the women interviewed that the university is a male-dominated institution or a "man's world," and that it was very difficult for a woman to break through the informal cliques or informal decision-making groups. Thus, although they had a formal appointment within the department, they were left out of colleagial networks.

One full professor in the humanities stated that although she originally felt "out of place" as the only woman in the faculty of arts she is now accepted in faculty meetings as "just another departmental representative." She felt that it was ". . . just a matter of time until a woman feels she is accepted in a male-dominated group." However, another woman, who was the only female in her department, indicated that ". . . although I can talk confidentially with my colleagues and am not ostracized, there can be no group stance as I am the only woman."

Twenty-five of the thirty-nine women interviewed indicated that they realized there was discrimination against women--and were able to give examples of situations at other universities or in different departments. However, few were willing to state that their departments were experiencing problems. Although about five women had very specific complaints about sex discrimination in their own departments, most mentioned only 'minor' problems that were 'close to home.' For example, a large number of women mentioned that male colleagues could not understand why a married woman would want to work. Others mentioned being mistaken for a secretary. Several thought that women professors had to prove their competence while the competence of male professors was more or less assumed. The most frequent accusation which women made about their own departments was that men get promoted "automatically" while women had to request and fight for the same promotion.

Despite the fact that the majority of women in the present study felt that particularistic standards were commonly in use in academia, fourteen women reiterated the ideology that "everyone is judged by the same standards in academia--merit." As we will discuss in more detail in Chapter Seven, those who denied the existence of particularistic standards were likely to have high rank--or to have "made it" in a man's world. We labelled these women "Queen Bees."

Some comments from the interviews give an indication of the ideas and values of women who denied the existence of differential treatment based on ascribed statuses. For example, one married associate professor in the social sciences commented that anti-nepotism rules ". . . are not necessary in the academic world, as you don't get a position without being fully qualified." This woman was against the "Affirmative Action Programme," stating, "I'm very much down on giving preference to anybody. It's reverse discrimination." When asked if she felt that women experienced any problems or disabilities as university professors, she answered, "I can't think of any."

Another example of a woman who saw no evidence of particularistic standards in this university stated, "I have never seen any indication of disabilities [of women] in hiring, tenure, or promotion at this university." This full professor in the faculty of science also viewed the Affirmative Action Programme as "reverse discrimination," stating, "I wouldn't use sex as a criterion at all."

An associate professor in the faculty of education stated that women university professors experience "no problem whatsoever." She continued, "I have always been in a position of responsibility in my career, and always felt that I could do anything a man could do." However, this woman was educated in segregated Catholic schools and spent most of her life in a religious order.

Accusations of "unprofessionalism" or "lack of commitment" which are often used against academic women are particularly difficult to counteract because the term "professional" and standards of "professional behaviour" are seldom made explicit. When women have not behaved like men in a work situation--when they take off time for childbearing or childrearing, when they do not compete for the symbols of "success" which men have defined--they are sometimes labelled "unprofessional." However, from the professional perspective they _are_ "unprofessional," as they sometimes give priority to family commitments.

Unfortunately, women will occasionally reinforce these arguments by their inability or unwillingness to accept the same responsibilities in their occupational roles as men.[4] Lack of confidence in one's abilities is the usual reason for not wanting to take on certain aspects of the job. For example, one young doctoral student in the faculty of medicine indicated that she did not think that she could handle a professorial job, ". . . as it would involve administrative work which I do not enjoy--and I just _wouldn't be able to handle it emotionally_ so that I could be successful."

An older woman who had a sessional appointment in the social sciences indicated that she would not want a full-time job, ". . . as it would be taking a job away from a young man who may need the money more." She generally felt that women ". . . prefer to be a _close assistant_ to someone than to be completely in charge of the policy and financial aspects--or to run the whole show themselves." She stated that _she_ certainly felt that way.

Another sessional appointment, who was over the age of fifty, indicated that priority had been given to her husband's career, as he had more training and experience than she did when they married. Although this woman felt that women academics experience far more problems than males, and although she has been involved in the Senate Task Force on this campus, she still was content to assist her husband's career rather than developing her own.

With respect to questioning women's 'professionalism,' one professional officer in the faculty of science indicated, "Women are readily identifiable, and many men and women don't feel that it is necessary to give them a break. . . . But it is the *negation of women's professional attitudes that is the hardest to take*." She feels that these are unconscious attitudes which people have, and because people are often not aware that they are discriminating, "I can forgive them for that. But I've learned to point out these attitudes to them."

Generally speaking, one problem that the author can see with the situation of academic women on this campus is that they are to a great extent unaware of the problems which other women have. However, this has been partially alleviated by the organization of the "Academic Women's Association" formed on this campus in the autumn of 1973 for the purpose of creating an awareness among women of the work and problems of their female colleagues. This organization, along with the Senate Task Force on the Status of Women, has done much to make academic women aware of their lower rank as a group, their lower salaries, and of instances of sex discrimination on campus.

Nevertheless, very few women perceived that the situation of academic women was caused or perpetuated by the power structure of the university or of the profession. They saw the low status of females as essentially the result of socializing girls to value different things in life--personal relationships, family and children, and their homes.

Most felt that as we encourage more girls to strive for higher formal qualifications and professional positions the status of women in the university will rise to a great extent. However, in light of some of the discrimination that well-motivated and academically qualified women have experienced, it is unlikely that changes in socialization would have as great an impact as many women suggested. The consistency of other social institutions which perpetuate a supportive role for women modify the impact of unconventional socialization.

Perhaps one of the reasons why these academic women were so optimistic about improvement in the status of professional women and changing assumptions about women's abilities is that they are in an insulated environment. Most of their female friends are upper-middle class professional women. Thus, they are not constantly faced with pressures from others concerning their "deviant" life-styles. One associate professor made a comment concerning this. She stated that, "In the university environment, I have become 'insulated' against comments about what I as a woman should be doing with my life. All my friends are in the university, doing similar jobs." In her previous jobs in the school system, she felt much more pressure to have children and a more 'traditional' role.

It seemed that women in the present study were "insulated" from being constantly presented with alternative life-styles because of their lack of contact with non-professional women. On the other hand, a number of academic women indicated that they did not know many or any other academic women on this campus. In fact, the Academic Women's Association was initiated after the realization by two academic women who had wanted to nominate some women to certain important university committees that they only knew, personally, about ten women on this campus. The association was organized for political reasons, but also to create an awareness among women at this university of the occupational interests and the problems of other academic women.

The present study also contributed to the increased awareness of the activities and interests of other academic women, as well as to the status of women at this university. A number of women who participated in the study are now more attuned to possible discrimination against women and for this reason are better equipped to counteract it.

But perhaps the most obvious indication from the interviews was that only thirteen of the thirty-nine women interviewed were convinced that there was overt discrimination against women in academia. As was previously mentioned, these women tended to occupy lower ranks and to be younger in age. In other words, those women who feel that the situation should be changed in the university to enable women to have more influence and power are those least likely to be able to enact any changes. The least powerful feel the need for reform or revolution, and the most powerful are content with the present set-up. This is certainly not a surprising finding, but indicates that women academics are not a united group aiming for changes to better the position of all women. In fact, some women are working against improving the status of women, either by perpetuating the stereotypes of the "uncommitted" and "unqualified" academic woman or by denying that any intelligent competent woman would have any problems. The existence of both of these types of academic women means that structural changes to 'improve' the status of women in the university will indeed be slow in coming.

Lack of Power to Counteract Accusations of 'Unprofessionalism'

Since the proportion of women in university teaching is relatively small, they could be easily ignored. However, within the past three years in Canada, a number of committees have been organized to investigate such matters as the relative salaries, rates of promotion, and fringe benefits of women and men academics.[5] The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, which published its report in 1970, initiated a widespread controversy concerning the lack of women in positions of decision-making and policy-making and occupations of high salary and prestige in this country.

It could be assumed that there is a correlation between power and rank in academia, if power is defined as "the ability to secure one's ends in life, even against opposition" (Tumin, 1967: 12). Generally, faculty members above the level of assistant professor have academic tenure and therefore job security. They do not have to fear losing their positions if they engage in collegial conflict or disagreement, or if they align themselves with an unpopular segment of the profession. They are generally older and command a certain amount of respect because of the assumed knowledge and expertise that accompanies age and rank. However, women are generally found in the lower ranking positions--with lower salaries--even with increasing age. An elderly female assistant professor or sessional lecturer is far less likely to command respect--and therefore to be able to wield any power--than an elderly male full professor.

One professional officer interviewed for the present study articulated women's powerlessness and susceptibility to exploitation in some of her comments: "Women have been work horses, and men have learned that if you have a job that you don't want to do yourself--give it to 'the girls.'" She further stated, in a discussion of the treatment of women as students in the university, "We do nothing to help them feel on an equal footing with men." She mentioned a regulation, which was only recently rescinded in her science department, that female students were not allowed to go on field trips and were therefore handicapped in completing the work for their honours theses.

One full professor in physical education mentioned that the lack of disciplinary prestige affects the recognition women receive in the wider community. She stated, "A man reaches out into the community more than a woman usually does, and is in the public eye more. A woman doesn't usually push herself into the public eye."

Caplow and McGee also stated that the academic career is marked by a high degree of mobility (1958: 33), and that one form of bargaining power for promotion and tenure is the ability to move around the country or continent for a 'better' job offer. Women generally lack mobility for various reasons. Canadian domicile laws state that the legal residence of the wife is that of her husband. If a woman chooses a graduate school or place of employment close to her husband's place of work and is unable, because of social pressure and legal reasons, to move to a place which would benefit her job, her prestige and bargaining power is reduced. Additionally, women are often made to feel that they have a greater responsibility for the care of elderly parents,[6] and they are generally held responsible for the care and legal custody of the children, which further reduces their mobility. Academic women are in a financial position to give up their marital rights, but poorer women have less freedom in this way. However, social pressures to stay with one's husband certainly restrict the mobility of even the financially secure women.

There is further indication from the interviews that some women are held responsible for the care of elderly parents, in addition to their own children, even when there are brothers involved who could take on the same responsibility. For example, one woman was in the eastern United States working on a doctorate degree and had to return to Alberta because her mother was ill. She was not able to return to her studies for three years, despite the fact that she had two brothers in the province. Another full professor indicated that her father had left her money when he died but had left none to her brothers. He felt that, "As a woman, I would need it, but that my brothers could get along on their own."

These assumptions of dependence that are made of women are also evident in the choice of work location for the women. One assistant professor in the social sciences indicated that her parents were pleased when she went to graduate school in the western States, but hoped that she would be closer to home (Toronto). In other words, expectations are made of daughters that they will stay closer to their parents, that they will remain dependent upon their parents longer, and that they will care for their parents when they are elderly. These expectations are made less frequently of sons. Of course, not all women would comply with such expectations. But the existence of such literary characters as

Rachel in Margaret Laurence's novel, A Jest of God (1966), is an indications that these expectations are very real for some people.

Some of the single or divorced women seemed to feel a strong resentment towards men and a need to be independent, but retained a strong feeling of responsibility for their parents. One recently separated doctoral student in the humanities stated emphatically that her goals in her occupational life include achieving ". . . complete financial independence, complete intellectual independence, and complete emotional independence." She also mentioned that she will probably change her career when she achieves financial independence, which also meant, for her, supporting her mother (but no mention was made of her father).

Problems centering around mobility and bargaining power would be more crucial to married than to unmarried women, and are particularly prevalent among couples in which both husband and wife have professional careers. Twenty-two of the women interviewed were presently married, and thirteen of the twenty-two were married to university professors. Of the women who were married to university professors, nine mentioned problems with anti-nepotism rules. If these rules prevent the wife from having a full-time position in the department or university where her husband is employed, then she will never have the access to the usual ladders of upward mobility within the university and the profession.

In recent years, anti-nepotism rules have been frowned upon as somewhat discriminatory toward women (Bernard, 1964; CAUT Handbook, 1971: 43). But domicile laws and social norms dictate that a married woman must live in the town in which her husband lives, whether or not it is an advantage to her career.

Nepotism rules were thought to be necessary to prevent intradepartmental conflict about ten years ago and are still informal regulations in some departments of the university under investigation. Such rules are now generally felt to be contrary to the ideal espoused by the university as an institution hiring on the basis of "academic qualifications and merit." Some of the comments from the interviews concerning nepotism rules are delineated below.

> Absolutely ridiculous. . . . I think they were concocted to disadvantage women (married female assistant professor, education).
>
> They should be abolished. They have probably operated mainly against women, but discriminated against either a man or a woman (married full professor, science).
>
> They are unfairly used against women. . . they should be wiped out. They judge women by their relation to a man (married assistant professor, social sciences).
>
> It's always the woman who suffers (married Ph.D student, science).
>
> They're rather foolish. A person's marital status should not be looked at. . . it's nobody's business (married associate professor, social sciences).

Although most of the women interviewed were against nepotism rules, a few thought that they were still necessary to prevent coalitions from forming in the department. One doctoral student who has recently been separated from her husband indicated: "I used to be against them [nepotism rules] until I saw this department. The head of the department has his wife working her too, and they don't communicate with the other faculty members. There is a reason for them [the rules], and maybe they should stay."

Another single former Ph.D student who was interviewed stated with respect to nepotism rules: "It's hard to say where favouritism stops and academic competence starts." She indicated that there was a possibility that the wife would be hired, regardless of competence, if her husband was offered a position on staff. An associate professor in education, who was recently married, stated that, "I don't think that it is a good idea [to hire husband and wife] in the same department, but it's fine in the same university." She also spoke of coalitions forming in the department, as wall as the detriment to the couple's marriage from seeing too much of each other, as well as of competing with each other. Although there were a few women who thought that nepotism rules were justifiable, they generally felt that rigid rules without exceptions were unfair to a few isolated individuals who were unable to go elsewhere.

Another regulation which frequently worked against married women was the restriction against hiring the department's own Ph.D graduates on a full-time basis. This informal departmental regulation was again perceived as straying from the ideal of using only academic criteria to judge a candidate's competence. Some of the comments from the interviews include:

> It's a limiting rule. . . . People should have the option [of returning to the same university to work (single Ph.D student, science)].
>
> If their own graduate students are not hired, then this is something to look into (single Ph.D drop-out, science).
>
> It works against women--men are more mobile. . . . There should be no hard and fast rule (married Ph.D student, social science).

> It's a type of inbreeding that leads to intellectual smugness. Married women made the choice when they got married, but I'm sympathetic to their plight (single assistant professor, social science).

> There should be exceptions. . . . It's better to diversify experience, but sometimes circumstances prevent it (married Ph.D student, science).

> There should be no formal regulation against it (married associate professor, social sciences).

The general effect of these two regulations is that of placing certain people in a precarious position with respect to bargaining power. If nepotism or other regulations prevent a woman from taking a full-time position in a department, forcing her to accept a sessional appointment, it sometimes means that this part-time appointment becomes a permanent situation for the woman. Because administrators and colleagues see this woman as 'immobile,' she is most vulnerable to certain forms of exploitation. She can be paid less because she has no alternative and must accept the low-paying position without complaint.

One illustrative example of the exploitation of women at this university who are presumed 'immobile' was told by a sessional appointee in the faculty of arts. At the age of forty-nine, she received her doctorate from this university and then taught at a prestigious university in the United States for several years. She eventually returned to this university because her husband, who also recently earned his doctorate, was given an excellent job opportunity with the government in this city. The department from which she graduated, knowing about her family situation, offered her a one-third sessional appointment, even though she had a Ph.D and several years' teaching experience. She referred to this offer as "giving me crumbs." Although there was a sessional vacancy available, a young man without a doctorate but in the same area of specialization as hers was given this sessional appointment. This year, a full-time appointment was available in the department, and again she applied. She recently discovered that the young man who previously had the sessional appointment received the full-time appointment, and she was tentatively offered his sessional--if the budget permits. She viewed this offer as a "consolation prize," and was reluctant to accept it. Unfortunately, she has few alternatives. She thought perhaps she may switch her field to something like library science so that she would be more likely to get a position in this city.

This same woman also mentioned that a younger woman had 'difficulties' in the same department. She cam as a visiting professor, hoping to find a permanent position so that her husband could join her. She had just finished her Ph.D and also applied for the one permanent position in the department this year. However, this woman also was passed over in favour of hiring the young man without the doctorate--even though her areas of specialization were alleged to be more consistent with the department's specifications. This woman was reluctant to go to the Senate Task Force on the Status of Women and complain about her situation as she thought that she may need letters of recommendation from this department for a future job, and thought that they might "hold it against me" if she cried "discrimination."

One woman in the faculty of science at the university under investigation, who seemed very bitter about the way in which women are treated at this university, stated that she received a letter from the president of the university shortly after she was hired about ten years ago. The president asked her to resign because he did not think that it was 'proper' that she be given a staff position, as her husband had a full-time appointment in another department. But her chairman fought to retain her position. After working for seven years for part-time wages at what was really a full-time job, and after receiving a divorce from her husband, she threatened to leave if they did not give her a full-time appointment with some job security and fringe benefits. At this point, she was offered a probationary position--despite the fact that she had seven years' experience--at the lowest possible rank, and was not offered a better position until she vehemently refused that offer.

It should be emphasized that the comments from the academic women interviewed were not, and should not be, taken at face value. What people say and what they really believe are not always consistent. Memories fail, and people reconstruct the past as they get older. We have viewed the comments of these women as "data" to be interpreted--as indications of their perception of their own situation.

Summary

To summarize this chapter on academic ideologies and how their ideals are not practiced to any great extent for women academics, it is apparent that women academics as a group do not have the power to counteract many of the discriminatory accusations made against them. Because they are operating within a system which is designed essentially to accommodate males, they must either become like males in their career patterns[7] or occupy a peripheral position in the profession.

A third alternative is becoming more widespread among the younger academic women who have recently entered the profession. This solution is to press for changes in the structure of academia to make the "rules of the game" more fair for female participants. However, the interview results indicate that only a small proportion of the women who were interviewed--three out of thirty-nine--were actively involved in attempting to make changes. Most of the other women were resigned to the fact that women had to be better than men to advance in the structure and that, as women, they would not advance as far as their male colleagues. About eight women who were interviewed were extremely bitter and resentful about their powerlessness but seemed more inclined to fight it at an individual level. In other words, collective action to press for a more powerful position within the profession was not an alternative that was viewed as realistic or possible by the majority of women in this study.

It was noted by Bernard (1964) that women's colleges in the United States in past decades have recruited men as teachers and administrators to 'upgrade' their academic image. This trend is still apparent in small women's colleges in Canada and the United States. For example, one woman in the interviews mentioned that the small women's college in Missouri made it clear to her when she was interviewed for a position there that "the girls prefer male teachers." In other words, the administration preferred to hire more prestigious males for their female college.

The idea that the introduction of women into a previously male-dominated reduces its status has been commented on in Etzioni's book The Semi-Professions and Their Organization (1969). Not only are women seen as having a lower status than men but they are perceived as introducing change into the occupational setting which is defined as 'unprofessional' by male colleagues. Women are said to have stronger competing attachments to family roles and clients and are less likely to develop colleague reference group orientations and thus seek professional status (Simpson and Simpson, 1969: 244, 246). In speaking of women in general, and more specifically of women in the semi-professions, Simpson and Simpson state that:

> They tend to want friendly relations with co-workers and are often afraid to risk these for the sake of autonomy and power. Relatively unambitious, on the average, they are not willing to fight for advancement. They tend to be more interested in giving personal service to clients than in the technical mastery of skills or in professional prerogatives to define how their skills will be put to use.[8]

Is there some difference in the values and personalities of female workers that makes them orient themselves to different goals than men value? Does the present socialization process of the sexes create one group of people more 'qualified' to be the leaders of the profession and another group which is satisfied to follow the dictates of others? These are some of the questions that will be investigated in the following chapter when we examine the stereotype of the female sex roles and expectations for professional jobs. Verbatim comments and trends from the interviews will illustrate the basic inconsistencies between these role expectations.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

[1] Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, 1899: 243.

[2] Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Woman's Place (University of California Press), 1971: 34.

[3] Graduate Awards and Selection Committee; Executive Council, Department of Sociology of the university under investigation, 1973-74; Graduate Student Association, same university, 1972-73; Graduate Student Association, Department of Sociology, of large Eastern university, 1970-71.

[4] These women have accepted the ideology of male dominance in a similar way that many American Blacks and Canadian Indians have accepted White dominance. It is so much a part of their everyday life that they accept it as "natural."

[5] Such professional organizations as the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, the Canadian Association of University Teachers, the American Sociological Association (organized sub-area of sex roles, 1969), and the American Anthropological Association have all had organized investigations into the status of women in their associations.

[6] Informal interview with Professor Boddington, associate professor of classics, large Eastern university, 1971.

[7] The Women's Movement has been criticized by Henshel (1973) and others for adopting "male values," especially the "work ethic." By taking over men's jobs, women are in fact perpetuating the very system which they were originally fighting against. However, it could be pointed out that many women's organizations are not fighting against the "system" but only want a share of the rewards; they want equal opportunity to obtain these system rewards. This means being able to "act like women" (however this is defined) and still being able to compete without a disadvantage. In other words, modify the system to make women better able to compete. Although this "solution" would be viewed as a "cop-out" by some, it seems more likely to be realized than revolutionary changes.

[8] Simpson and Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations (New York: Free Press), 1969: 231.

CHAPTER SIX

SEX ROLES AND PROFESSIONAL ROLES: INCONSISTENCIES

Introduction

For those women who may aspire to a professional occupation, conflict may arise because those characteristics which are considered essential for the adequate performance of professional roles are considered to be 'masculine': persistence and drive, personal dedication, aggressiveness, and emotional detachment (Epstein, 1971: 23).

A doctoral student in education indicated, "Most women are tentative about going full steam ahead with their jobs because of the reactions of others who have built-in ideas about women." A sessional lecturer in the social sciences stated, ". . . I have heard people making disparaging comments about middle-aged ladies who dabble in academia." Another professional officer in science stated, "People are not even aware that there are women in academia until recently, but most women are forced to play along with the stereotypes of what a woman is." These comments indicate that the perception of expectations for the performance of female academics is more consistent with the stereotype of a female than with the stereotype of an academic. Several other women who were interviewed expounded on this theme.

One young married woman in the faculty of law mentioned with respect to her colleagues' attitudes: "Now that they know that I don't cry, I can take criticism, and that I can stand up to a class of ninety law students, I'm accepted as a colleague. But I was on probation where a man wouldn't have been." She mentioned one incidence in which her colleagues, who are all men, suggested that as a former home economist she redecorate the faculty common room. She generally felt that in law there was the feeling that ". . .woman's place is in the home," as law is ". . . an old and conservative profession."

A sessional lecturer in science mentioned, "There are strong built-in prejudices toward women lecturers, especially from male students, and anyone less than perfect will suffer. . . . Any high voice, timidness, or slight hesitancy on the part of the female lecturer will encourage anti-woman feelings." An assistant professor in physical education commented, "Women have difficulty moving into a male domain. . . . There is an unconscious camaraderie, involving informal decision-making, and it's hard for women to break into this. . . . Sport symbolizes masculinity in our culture, and this disturbs the female students." This woman mentioned that girls are increasingly participating in sports activities which were formerly reserved for men.

As female and professional role configurations are often presented as being mutually exclusive, women in North American society may feel that they have to choose between these roles. Those few women who are employed in predominantly male professions are often regarded as "sexless," and the woman who really takes her work seriously is sometimes seen as the antithesis of a "feminine" woman. Female role models which incorporate the image of assertiveness, independence, and objectivity, and thereby violate societal definitions of femininity, often repel both men and women (Epstein, 1971: 23).

Komarovsky (1946) has indicated that girls often lower their occupational aspirations as they progress through college. We found in the present study that many of the university professors interviewed had initially very 'traditional' aspirations--they planned to be nurses, elementary school teachers, home economists--until some influential person presented them with an alternative career plan. For example, a university professor who took an interest in the student would sometimes suggest that she continue her education beyond the undergraduate level.

One sessional appointee indicated that ". . . I had always planned on being a nurse or a teacher, as I thought that these were my only alternatives. . . . At the end of my sophomore year, a senior professor who had taken an interest in me convinced me that I was "too good" for education, and that I should go instead for a BA. . . . But I assumed that I wouldn't go beyond the MA level. I was then thinking in terms of teaching prep school or in a liberal arts college--but I didn't consider a Ph.D; I don't know why." It was only after spending two years teaching undergraduates in a woman's college that this woman decided that if she didn't get a Ph.D, "I would be stuck at this level forever."

A few women stated that they had to overcome a certain amount of opposition from parents, especially their fathers, before they could enter a field which was labelled a 'male' area. For example, one woman in a male-dominated professional school indicated that her parents were from a French middle class background in which ". . . girls become nurses and get married." She stated that her father definitely thought ". . . that it was not the thing for a woman to be a lawyer," even though she had had a "drive" to be a lawyer since she was a child. After studying home economics, switching to education, and teaching for four years, she finally began studying law.

A female professional officer in science who was interviewed indicated that her parents wanted her to take a secretarial course, as her older sister had done, and perhaps get married. After leaving home to attend university, contrary to her parents' wishes, this woman had a very segmented career. Another woman in education indicated that her mother encouraged her to pursue her education but didn't really think that she would "take it seriously." She stated that her mother saw a career for her ". . . more as insurance in case I did not get married, or as something to do before marriage." Another associate professor in the humanities stated that "My parents encouraged me to get a university degree for 'security reasons.'"

It was evident that a large proportion of the women interviewed were not socialized to feel inferior intellectually or to feel incapable of carrying out responsible professional occupations. They consistently felt that they had been encouraged to develop their intellect and cultivate a competence which would lead to a professional career. In most cases, however, they were channelled initially into those occupations which have been traditionally numerically dominated by women. It was interesting to note that three women who started off in a field such as household economics eventually ended up in such seemingly unrelated fields as law, dentistry, and medical bacteriology. Four women started as elementary school teachers, and then returned to university at a later age. Eleven of the women in the sample started their careers as high school teachers.

Although eight women felt that their parents opposed their career ambitions or were ambivalent towards them, the majority indicated that their parents were extremely supportive both emotionally and financially. One full professor in science mentioned, ". . . My mother was very supportive and encouraged me to develop my intellectual abilities." A sessional lecturer in the social sciences stated, "I was an only child and my parents always encouraged me to take up whatever interested me." A sessional lecturer in science indicated, "My parents were a very professional couple and automatically assumed that I would continue beyond high school. I saw university as an extension of high school." A doctoral student in the faculty of medicine stated, "My parents wanted a doctor in the family and strongly encouraged me to finish university." An associate professor in the social sciences mentioned, "I was brought up with the idea that it was natural for women to have careers."

One of the women interviewed for the present study, a sessional appointee, made a similar comment when discussing why there were so few female university professors in Canada. She stated, "It's a matter of bringing up girls. Social pressures encourage them to become future housewives and mothers. When they are in their late teens, their general intellectual development is throttled. . . . The process continues after they are in university. Boys and girls seem to develop similarly [in elementary school], . . . except that girls are slightly ahead. Then they come to a point--in their late teens--when they are type-cast into the role which society expects them to play. It is a cultural traditional pattern which is very rigid--and hard to break."

These examples from the interviews indicate that some women university professors were encouraged to achieve, especially by their mothers, but rarely in a traditionally 'masculine' field. A number of the women started out in home economics, teaching, or nursing and were encouraged to achieve in these areas, but eventually changed their field of study to be more consistent with their own ambitions rather than the expectations of their peers and relatives.

Role Models and Career Decisions

Absence of suitable role models has often been advanced as a partial explanation for the lack of women in certain professional occupations, especially university teaching (Epstein, 1971; Bernard, 1964; Hersom, 1970). If female university professors comprise only about ten to fifteen per cent of all university professors (Robson and Lapointe, 1971) and women are clustered in the lower echelons so that the proportion of female full professors is very small, then the chances of a female student having a female professor, especially in graduate school, is very slight.

Suelzle [in Paige (ed.), forthcoming] refers to the very scarcity of women in faculty and top-level administrative positions as a structural barrier because of the lack of role models. She states: "Not only the lack of role models for women students may offer discouragement, but so also may the kinds of women who are the exceptions. Tokenism itself can be discouraging because it is based on abnormal standards of excellence thereby reinforcing the notion that a woman must be several times as good as a man in order to succeed" (Suelzle: 44).

Some of the women who were interviewed mentioned this lack of role models. One associate professor in the faculty of medicine mentioned: "There is a lack of role models for women in university. . . . successful women have to encourage other women--but there are still so few." A female sessional appointee in the humanities indicated that lack of role models was a major reason why so few women went on to graduate school. She mentioned that as a master's student she had only two female professors; and while working on her doctorate, she had only one female professor. She further stated, "Girls tend to think of university professors as men--they aren't told that they have the option themselves. Girls set their sights too low, because they are not counselled properly."

One woman in education indicated that colleagues do not perceive women as researchers, publishers, or professionals, and do not expect them to take part in all aspects of the job. However, they do expect them to be good teachers. She mentioned that there were only two women faculty members in her department--"one is overlooked entirely, and the other is on sabbatical." For this doctoral student, lack of role models seemed particularly critical. Her mother had been educated but forced to stay at home by a traditional husband; the student had seen no women as professors in Australia as an undergraduate; and now as a doctoral student had no women after which to model her life. Consequently, she saw herself as very "atypical."

A former doctoral student in science, who had recently withdrawn from the programme, implied that the available role models were discouraging when she spoke of her former dissertation advisor: "She always came in very early in the morning and worked late hours. She took work home every single night, despite the fact that she had two small children to care for. But she was promoted at a slower rate than her male colleagues and received less pay. I could see myself being overburdened as my supervisor was, and could say to myself: '. . .after I get a Ph.D and work for a number of years, that could be me--if I'm lucky.'" Her supervisor told her, "You have no idea how much discrimination exists against women who try to get to the top until you try it yourself." She also mentioned that her supervisor took on mainly female graduate students because she thought they needed extra encouragement.

A sessional appointee in the humanities spoke of some of the models that girls do have in the university: ". . . Of course, there are the casualties that stay in academia, who become paranoid and see discrimination where it doesn't exist. They try to be like one of the boys and overcompensate--adopting strange ways of coping with a difficult situation." In other words, the role models of female university professors which girls sometimes have are less than encouraging for potential recruits.

Some women indicated that their mothers served as negative role models for them, and that, because of their mother's example, they had attempted to eventually be in a 'better' position than she. For example, one doctoral student in education indicated that her mother graduated from teacher's college, but "My father wouldn't allow her to work." She described her father as "a bit of an anti-intellectual," who definitely felt that his daughter should marry and produce children. This woman remained single, feeling that it is almost impossible for a woman to combine a marriage and a career.

Not all women saw the necessity of more role models for female students in the universities. One full professor in physical education stated, "Maybe all that is necessary is to have women counsellors so that female students have someone to talk over their problems with." She also indicated that sex-typing in departments and faculties happened by "accident," and that there is no reason to balance the sexes.

However, despite the fact that there are so few female university professors, the women interviewed modelled their intellectual lives after people whom they admired--especially mothers and female teachers. One sessional lecturer in science indicated: "From the models presented by the lives of my mother, who was a teacher, and my grandmother, a college professor, I assumed that women always had careers." An associate professor in education mentioned, "In my family, it was not a matter of were you going to college, but where were you going to college."

One woman stated that she went to college ". . . at the time of the ascendance of the women's colleges," and was positively influenced by her female professors. She described them as ". . . fearless women, who felt that women could do anything they wanted to do--especially graduate degrees."

A number of the women who were interviewed mentioned that they were encouraged to pursue a career and were positively influenced by women who obviously served as role models for them. For example, one assistant professor in the humanities said that her mother had always had a career as an artist and had instilled in her daughter the idea that "A woman's ultimate career was not necessarily marriage." She stated that her mother had always encouraged her to excel in whatever area she did best, and that her family had been very "competitive."

An associate professor in the social sciences mentioned that her mother had a degree in music and taught on a volunteer basis. Her three sisters all had careers--one was a lawyer, one a physical education teacher, and one a pianist. This woman claimed that she never felt that she was "treated differently as a girl." She never felt that it was ". . . atypical to have a career, as I assumed that all women did."

An assistant professor in the social sciences mentioned a study done in Toronto which indicated that women who had had women professors were more likely to continue their studies. This woman said that she had had only one woman professor in her entire academic career, concluding that lack of role models prevented women from seeing themselves as university professors.

With respect to role models, one sessional appointee in the faculty of science stated that she was ". . . very much influenced by my paternal grandparents--my grandmother had the equivalent of a Ph.D, but they wouldn't grant her a degree because she was a woman--but she taught college." Her mother was a teacher and later a visual aids librarian. From the models presented by the lives of her mother and her grandmother, she stated that she assumed that women always had careers.

The fact that most of the women interviewed came from middle class or upper-middle class homes meant that they were often provided with professional role models before they had even attended school. Many of the women came from families in which the father had a managerial or professional occupation and in which the mother was a teacher, doctor, or other professional throughout her married life. Those mothers who were housewives frequently had had a professional job prior to marriage or childbearing and were said to be "well-educated." A number of women indicated that their mothers had strongly encouraged them to espouse the ideal that "There is more to life than just being a wife and mother."

With regard to parental expectations for higher education, one full professor indicated that her parents expected her to go to university, as her great-grandfathers on both sides of the family and all other relatives had been involved in education. She stated that there had been no pressure on her to marry. This woman remained single and has had a very 'successful' career, eventually becoming chairman of her department.

When the women in the sample made the decision to go to graduate school, most of their parents gave them both financial and emotional support. However, there was a tendency for the parents to think in terms of higher education but not necessarily careers for their daughters. In other words, education was viewed as "insurance" in case there was no husband present, or sometimes as a status symbol. Few parents actually encouraged their children to make use of this formal education in developing a professional career, especially if it meant forfeiting marriage for it. For example, one woman who wanted to study law mentioned that she was aware that she was "breaking the usual female pattern." Her parents were concerned that "I would face problems that would make me unhappy and that practice would be too difficult. My mother, who didn't know anything about what lawyers do, thought that I would be dealing with hardened criminals. My father, who was more experienced, thought that I would become hard-nosed, and move too far away from the 'natural' role of wife and mother."

A doctoral student in the faculty of medicine mentioned that she was strongly encouraged to continue her education because "my parents wanted a doctor in the family." She stated that her parents had been forced to stop their university educations because of the war and felt that "the greatest gift they could give me was an education." But there had also been the attitude that after she finished university she could do anything she liked--"get married, quit, or go on to graduate school." It seemed that her parents were more concerned with her university degree than with what she would do with it in terms of a career.

One lecturer in education mentioned that her mother ". . . was very much a mother," and did not believe that mothers should work outside the home. Her mother encouraged her to pursue her education--even to study law--but never thought that she would finish her degree or work as a lawyer. Neither of her parents thought that she would take her studies seriously, ". . . but saw a career as 'insurance' in case I did not get married, or as something to do before marriage."

There was some indication among a few older women who were interviewed that they had originally gone to graduate school not with the intention of pursuing a career but just because they enjoyed studying. For example, one sessional in the social sciences indicated, "I wanted a Ph.D mainly because I loved to study. . . , but didn't care whether or not I had a career. My age and sex are factors which would work against me eventually getting an academic position, but I decided to continue my studies anyway."

There is some indication from the interviews that a number of women fought the traditional attitudes of the parents for many years after they first made their career choice. For example, one sessional appointee indicated her parents' attitude toward her career: "They though that after I got my Ph.D I would settle down and be 'normal.' They felt that it was just something that I had to get out of my system. They brag about what I have done, but they think I'm deviant."

An associate professor in education mentioned a similar attitude in her family. She stated that her father had never 'recognized' the fact that she had received a Ph.D. He had never congratulated her or even mentioned her accomplishment. It was not until many years afterwards, when she attended his wife's funeral, that, for the first time, he introduced her as "My daughter, Dr. . . . ."

Those women who were married at the time that they attended graduate school usually stated that their husbands gave them an abundance of emotional support and had pushed them through when times got rough. For example, one associate professor in education mentioned that while she was completing her dissertation her husband was "shoving" her, strongly encouraging her and giving her confidence in her own abilities. She further indicated that they worked towards both graduate degrees at the same time, giving each other "mutual support." She stated that her husband has "no desire for the kind of wife who stays home and diddles around the house."

However, not all women who were interviewed were fortunate enough to have such supportive husbands. One woman, who has a sessional appointment in the faculty of arts, mentioned that her first husband had "held back my development." She had wanted to pursue her studies, but her husband ". . . generally disapproved of women working outside the home." They eventually got a divorce, and she returned to university and completed a Master's and a Ph.D degree.

It could not be concluded from this data that women who achieve positions in academia were socialized to have low career ambitions or lacked encouragement from their families. In fact, there was some indication that this continual family support was essential in order to counteract other pressures from popular stereotypes, casual acquaintances, and the media, which directed their attention away from the competition of graduate school into more traditional female roles. There was a slight trend in the interviews for those who lacked parental support for their careers to experience more role conflict and to have a less "successful" career by the standards of the profession. Some interesting and illustrative comments concerning the inconsistencies between the socialization of females in our culture and the preparation for professional occupations were revealed in the interviews.

One comment which was made by several of the interviewees was that most of the female friends they had in their youth would not have considered pursuing any career, especially one which took so many years of preparation. They thought rather in terms of temporary jobs until they got married or until they had children. A number of women perceived themselves as "atypical" in this respect, in that they had continued their formal schooling far beyond that of their female peers.

One doctoral student indicated in this respect: "Most of the girls in my town quit school at the age of sixteen. I was going to quit school too. . . but my parents and headmistress talked me out of it." An assistant professor in science stated that she and a female friend had planned to come to the United States to study from their home in the Middle East, but the parents of the friend would not let their daughter travel that far ". . . as they had a very traditional view of women." Another assistant professor in a professional school said that her parents thought that "I should grab an RN and have some fun," but instead she continued on at university.

One doctoral student in the social sciences who was interviewed mentioned that ". . . some of my older relatives felt that there was not much use in a girl getting that much education, and generally thought that I was 'off-beat.'" A sessional lecturer in the sciences stated with respect to the career aspirations of her friends: "It never occurred to them to be anything but secretaries and housewives."

One woman who came to Canada from Western Europe stated, "It shocked me greatly to find that in Canada only a few jobs were open to women. They could be either nurses, teachers, or secretaries. . . . In Canada, a woman is expected to be a housewife, a mother, and a good companion--and anything else is temporary until she finds the right man." The above comments are an indication of some of the stereotypes that these women have had to oppose or ignore in order to reach their present positions.

With reference to the career choices of these women, it was noted that many of them did not plan on a career in university teaching until relatively late in their lives and had often 'drifted' into graduate school. The major decision point in the occupational choice of these women seemed to be at the doctoral level, rather than the decision to pursue a Master's degree. Those who entered university teaching before they received the doctorate were more likely to drift in and out of the profession, with little apparent commitment.

If we look, for example, at how some of their career decisions were made, we find that very few women 'knew' from the time that they first went to university that they wanted to go to graduate school. We do not mean to indicate that men always make conscious and definite career choices, but only that women have been shown to be even less decisive than men (Epstein, 1971). One doctoral candidate in the social sciences indicated that she had not even planned to go to university, but that her headmistress ". . . dared me to apply to Oxford and Cambridge, because she knew I would not refuse such a challenge." After being accepted and eventually graduating from Cambridge, the student continued on for a Ph.D, ". . . because my advisor felt that one of her students should go to graduate school. I was the choice, as the other girl was getting married."

Another indication that women often 'drifted' into university teaching was given by a full proessor in physical education. She mentioned that she "fell" into university teaching. She had been teaching in the school system, with no intentions of changing her career, when she was contacted by the university dean, who asked her to join the staff.

One associate professor in the social sciences remained at home for ten years raising three children. She finally decided that housework did not provide her with the intellectual stimulation she needed, and she decided to return to graduate school. Although her undergraduate degree had been in the same field as her husband's, he persuaded her to change her field, stating that they would not be able to get jobs together if they were in the same discipline. So she enrolled and graduated in a discipline which she described as a "secondary interest." She described her husband as ". . . a typical middle class male who disapproved of me doing anything independently." One year after she returned to graduate school, she and her husband were divorced. It seemed that he was threatened by her intellectual ability.

Another doctoral student in the social sciences indicated that after her Master's degree she had no intentions of continuing her education ". . . because I was tired of the whole thing." After a number of friends and professors encouraged her to continue on the basis of her high grades, she applied for a Ph.D "just to shut them up."

A sessional appointee in the humanities stated, "I always assumed that I would go to college, but assumed that I wouldn't go beyond the MA level. I was then thinking in terms of a college teaching job--a prep school or a liberal arts college. But I didn't consider a Ph.D--I don't know why." This same woman received a scholarship for her Master's degree and was told by her professor that he would have recommended her for a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship if she were a man. However, as he assumed that she had little chance of getting the fellowship because of her gender, he did not make any recommendation.

One assistant professor from a Middle Eastern country stated in a rather matter-of-fact manner that she had chosen her profession because it was also the profession of her hudband, commeting that ". . . it would be easier to get a job."

Another assistant professor in a male-dominated professional school switched her field of interest several times, attempting to conform to her father's image of an occupation appropriate for a female. After studying home economics, education, and teaching for a few years, she finally went back to school to study the "masculine" subject which was her original choice.

Another woman started in home economics because ". . . in those days there was no choice for girls." She later took a number of science courses and attempted to "trade" her home economics degree for a science degree, because she felt that she was "stigmatized" with a degree in this field. However, the university would not agree to such a trade. She has been working in a laboratory in the faculty of medicine for thirty years and is now an associate professor.

Another illustration of women's career decisions was recounted by a sessional appointee in the sciences. She had originally started her academic career in pre-medicine, determined to be a doctor like her father. But after the second year her father died suddenly. She was told, and felt herself, that there would have been tremendous opposition to a woman receiving an internship in those days, and felt that she would have to be very brilliant (which she said she wasn't) or else spend all her time on her school work (which she wasn't prepared to do). She felt that without her father's "pull" she could not overcome the opposition to women in the medical profession. So she decided to change her field of study, even though the science discipline which she chose was not a primary interest.

Another woman sessional appointee in the social sciences mentioned that from the time she had her first child until her third child went to school she was not gainfully employed. While raising her family, she had been a member of a ". . . coffee group which frequently met and discussed ideas which interested us. When our children were in school, we all decided that PTA meetings, day-care volunteer work, and charitable work were not enough for us, so we all decided to return to university." This woman started by taking a few university courses that interested her, without planning on a future occupation. Eventually, she became so involved in one discipline that she completed a doctoral degree.

One lecturer in education was studying toward a law degree. As her husband was also studying law, they decided that ". . .One of us should be earning some money, so I went to teacher's college, and became a teacher." After assisting her husband's career and having two children, this woman did not return to her former interest but continued a career in education. In the interview, she mentioned, "If I hadn't got married, I would have gone on with my legal training."

These examples from the interviews illustrate what Epstein (1971) refers to as the "idiosyncratic career choice of professional women." She emphasizes the lack of any career plans for the majority of women, further mentioning that a number of women plan a career only after more traditional alternatives are eliminated. Women's careers generally are sporadic when compared to men's.

Epstein indicates that the withdrawal rates for women from occupational life have always been higher than the rates for men in a similar occupation (1971: 73). She attributes this to the structure of the occupational world which caters to men: less support for the training and education of women; lack of role models; dependency training or differential socialization encouraging in females characteristics unlikely to lead to occupational success; and, finally, pressure to concentrate on family roles. Some of these points will be reviewed in more detail in the following discussion of the relevance of the female sex role to academic roles.

Relevance of Female Sex Roles to the Academic Roles:

Role Conflict

In Woman's Place (1971), Epstein stated:

> . . . the absence of positive, supportive images relevant to the working woman's life results in the possibility that she can stop her advance in a career or abandon it altogether at almost any time. At every turning, the American woman is faced with a fresh decision of whether or not to work. And at each point of decision, strong norms exist which weigh against going on (1971: 27).

Although academic women today are more likely to be married than was the case in the past, a large proportion of academic women remain single. Persons engaged in professional activity are expected to have an overriding commitment to their professions. It is expected that they will work for more than forty hours a week and that their family life will not interfere with their occupational life. In other words, a large proportion of physical and emotional energy is expected to be devoted to one's work (Epstein, 1971: 99). Married women are constantly faced with role strain or decisions as to whether their roles of wife and mother should be given priority over their professional roles.

Seven women in the sample felt that their first responsibility was to their husbands and children and that their job was definitely secondary. A larger proportion of the sample indicated that they had given their familial responsibilities priority at a particular time in their lives--especially when their families were young. One sessional stayed home for eighteen years to raise three children, stating that she believed that "A mother should stay at home with her children at least until they are in junior high school. . . . I would have felt guilty if I had done that myself." She further said that ". . . my husband was never interested in domestic things or children, but I knew that when I married him and accepted it."

Six women in the interviews indicated that they had given priority to their husbands' careers by living close to their employment. For example, one assistant professor in the humanities mentioned that her husband was employed as a school principal about fifty miles from the university. She stated, "It was necessary for us to live near his job, as he had to keep his eye on things. I had to commute one hundred miles a day. It was awful, but I enjoyed the work."

Another associate professor in the faculty of arts commented that she taught at the state college while her husband was a professor at the university. They lived close to his place of employment and she commuted to work--one hour each way. In both of these cases it is evident that the wives have accommodated themselves to their husbands' work locations, perhaps as a defence reaction to relative defeat in their own careers.

Another professional officer did not obtain her doctorate even though she wanted to, "Because I felt my family came first, and I had a strong responsibility to them." Another sessional appointee in science indicated that, "I deferred to my husband's career ambitions because he had the best training and the greatest earning power--his career was better established. His career dominated our lives, and I was agreeable to that."

An assistant professor in a professional school stated, "I haven't been interested in pursuing a 'career.' I'm not the upwardly mobile type. I haven't put my career first. . . . I do what I have to do but my career is not my whole life. My family value is worth something." These views seem to come from older women with lower rank and are possibly rationalizations for lack of occupational achievement. However, wives are still expected, both legally and socially, to defer to their husbands' career transitions. But there is some indication that younger women are less willing to follow this traditional norm. What still remains unknown is the effect of marriage on women's career patterns and aspirations.

The majority of women felt that female university teachers can have both a successful career and a husband and family if they ignore certain popular stereotypes concerning female roles and 'woman's place' in society. Many interviewees also mentioned that women can have both families and careers if they plan their lives well and become very efficient at housework and child care. A number of women also indicated that hired domestic assistance is essential. Most married women with children employed both babysitters and people to clean their houses and indicated that it would be impossible to function without this form of assistance. One assistant professor stated that she had to work "one-and-a-half to two times as hard as a man to keep everything going. . . . My husband has a traditional view of women and doesn't help out at home." Another full professor in science mentioned, "The children don't interfere, but I have to organize differently."

There was also some indication from a large proportion of the sample that the present division of labour in the family was such that women assumed the responsibility for the organization of the household and generally did much of the work themselves. Several women expressed the attitude that "Men have more time to concentrate on their jobs." One associate professor in the social sciences stated, "Many women want part-time work so that they can keep house for their husbands. *Many think that it is their duty*." A different associate professor in the social sciences stated, "For men, marriage is incidental, but for women, it sometimes takes the place of a career." An assistant professor in science indicated, "Women who must spend a great deal of time working at home for domestic reasons lose contact with their colleagues. . . . *This part of the world does not give a chance to women who would like to pursue* a career."

There were many comments from the interviews which showed that married women especially experienced a considerable amount of role strain in attempting to be a wife and mother and a successful university professor. A lecturer in education remarked, "Women are encouraged to think of themselves as wives and mothers and to think of their careers as *subsidiary*. They see themselves as *helpers* and the man as the major breadwinner." An associate professor in education commented, "Teaching university is a very full-time job. If I had children, something would get lost in the shuffle. Can you really have both and do it well?" A full professor in the humanities stated, "*Someone* has to look after the children if people insist on wanting the individual family situation *and* the individual right to work."

A number of women felt that an academic woman had to make a decision between her career or her marriage. One doctoral student in the humanities mentioned, "An academic career takes a great deal of emotional energy. . . . It is not possible to have both a happy marriage and a successful career--you have to decide. . . . The traditional marriage doesn't work. The woman maintains it at a tremendous cost--to her as a human being, and spiritually."

An assistant professor in the social sciences stated that after her Master's degree she was uncertain as to whether or not to go on for a doctorate. She had an opportunity to marry at this time, but ". . . knew that I would have to choose between a career and a family if I married that particular man." After teaching high school in rural Ontario, she decided that there was too little emphasis on scholarly research in the school system, and decided to continue on for a Ph.D and teach univeristy. She also stated that at that time she felt that marriage would restrict her freedom and mobility, and that if she were to establish a viable career she would have to "put off marriage for a while."

A number of married women felt that having children would definitely interfere with their careers. For example, one sessional appointee mentioned, "Neither. . . [her husband] nor I want the continual involvement of a child. My sister has two children and I've seen the sacrifices that she has had to make for them. She is an artist and has little time for her own work."

A younger woman in the sample, who is an associate professor in the social sciences, recently had a child, and mentioned that both her marriage and her baby have affected her career. "To be very honest, I would have to say that both of them [husband and child] do affect my career. I have now become very divided in my attention and on which activities I think are important."

One assistant professor in the physical education faculty stated with respect to a choice between family and career: "Some women believe that because they are the only ones who can bear children the world owes them some compensation. But women don't need to have children in this day and age--one can now make a conscious choice not to. . . . It's hard to get into men's jobs, and if you're not prepared to make the sacrifices, then don't complain." She apologized for her "black and white" attitude toward the whole issue, but stated that that was the way she saw it.

One woman spoke of the "double load" which working women carry. She feels that the performance of men and women in academia is different ". . . not because of sex, but because of the responsibility for children and running the house. Society is set up in such a way [as] to give women a double load--the more conscientious they are about bringing up their families the more they are penalized."

Comments from some women in the interviews indicated that many married women with children were faced with role conflict. Frequently, other people would make comments indicating that they were neglecting their children. For example, one assistant professor in the humanities mentioned that there is some pressure from other women and parents indicating that women with young children were neglecting their families by working full-time. She said that she does not listen too seriously to these comments ". . . but no one escapes them." She mentioned that she herself had received a lot of comments of this sort, as she returned to teaching only one week after her daughter was born.

Another woman mentioned a similar situation in which other people encouraged role conflict in working mothers by their comments. She is a full professor in the faculty of science and has two children. She mentioned that she was often faced with ". . . negative attitudes from other women who seem to think that I should feel guilty about spending so much time on my career." This woman was fortunate enough to have a mother who would care for her children while she worked.

A number of other women mentioned that their mothers had offered a great deal of assistance with child care when their children were young and their careers were first getting established. One associate professor in the social sciences mentioned that she never had any child care problems, as she left the children with their father for six months when she did her research in Africa, and her mother assisted with child care when she did her comprehensive examinations. She later mentioned, "For only five years since I got my degree, I have done quite well considering that I have three obstacles [her children]."

Although a few women perceived the traditional division of labour in the family as "only natural," most felt that it was unfair to women and most definitely interfered with the occupational performance and productivity. Three of the married women indicated that their husbands did not participate at all in domestic responsibilities, leaving their wives with total responsibility for the maintenance of the households. But most of the younger married women said that they shared the housework equally, although usually admitted that they organized what chores had to be done and when they should be done.

In summary, twenty-seven women in this sample had consciously rejected the traditional division of labour in which the wife concentrates on building up her husband's career, raising the children, and maintaining the household to the neglect of her own intellectual life. These women had been strongly encouraged by both parents and educators to develop their intellectual potential to the fullest and to assume responsible professional positions. The essential inconsistencies which they saw between female sex roles and professional roles were in the perpetuation of the traditional division of labour in the family, prejudices from colleagues and students concerning women in positions of authority, and especially the attitude that women in academia were not seriously committed to their work.

Those married women who had retained the traditional division of labour based on sex in their own families generally held a low rank, often a sessional position. Of course, their concentration on domestic affairs could serve as a compensatory reaction to lack of occupational success. There was no clear indication from the interviews that these women lacked parental encouragement, but rather that some of them switched disciplines, married young, or rebelled against their parents' ambitions for them.

The married women in the sample were not the only ones who experienced 'role strain' in their professional lives. Those women who had remained single especially seemed conscious of the fact that they were different from most women in their interests and activities and that, according to dominant norms, they were not doing what they were "supposed to be doing."

Some of the comments of single women who were interviewed illustrate this point well. One doctoral student in education commented: "I am a bit of an embarrassment to my parents, as mother thinks that being unmarried is unnatural and sad." A full professor in physical education stated, "In my thirties, I became uneasy about my marital status and concerned about what my life would be like, but this was only a temporary stage."

A doctoral student in the social sciences stated, "I am aware of the pressures to marry and aware that I am bucking the stereotype. The biggest hurdle for single women to overcome is the social ostracism--the feeling that one is a failure if one hasn't married. For single women, there is the subtle attitude among some people that she is channelling all her energies into her occupational role because she has failed to find a better alternative--i.e., marriage." She continued, "When I went out of the academic environment--in the interview situation [for jobs after her Master's degree]--I found that I was on the defensive because of my sex. Marital status is made into an issue for women--and they are damned if they do and damned if they don't marry. If a woman is not married, they assume that she is either a 'recluse' or will run off and get married any minute. If she is married, then they assume her family responsibilities will interfere with her job." She further indicated that "If you are known, you can overcome these disabilities." She thinks that some women ". . . fear that they will 'lose their femininity'--however they define that--if they become too intellectual. And there is the fear of success thing" [referring to the research of Matina Horner

(1968) which this woman felt was a valuable finding]. "Women are socialized to think that the social is more important the the occupational realm."

There did seem to be pressure put on single women to marry, as well as pressure put on married women to produce children. Consistently being confronted by these pressure made some women feel personally unsuccessful as well as 'atypical.' However, these pressures obviously subsided with increasing age, and a number of them returned to university for doctoral degrees about the time that this pressure would be subsiding. It seems that after these women sorted out their 'identity problems,' they were free to oppose the female stereotype and concentrate on their careers. It should be noted that of the thirty-nine women who have been interviewed, thirteen have never been married and seventeen are not married at the present time. Generally, there is a very low marriage rate among academic women compared to academic men, and compared to women in the entire population (Bernard, 1964).

Although many women had obviously thought through their own "personal identity" and the relation between being female and being a university professor, a sizeable proportion of the women interviewed had apparently not thought about these issues or could not articulate their inner feelings on the subject. But the interviewer did get the impression that she was getting at very personal and significant attitudes and feelings. It was obvious that many women were still in the process of sorting out their own ideas and identities. It was also apparent that certain cultural contradictions between female socialization and their personal career ambitions had caused many women a certain amount of inner conflict and problems with personal relationships that had not been solved to date. Comments such as: "I was not prepared to compromise my career for marriage," and, "It's hard to get into men's jobs. . . . if you're not prepared to make the sacrifices, then don't complain," indicate that 'trade-offs' were sometimes perceived as necessary for academic success. In other words, a number of women felt that women can't have a viable career if they are going to "act like women."

A man who spends "too much" time with his wife and children and "too little" time on his profession may be considered somewhat "unprofessional." However, men are usually shielded from the necessity of making a conscious decision between work and family, a fact which could be perceived as a lack of freedom for males. Furthermore, a man's duties and obligations as a husband fall into the occupational sphere. If he "supports" his wife and family and devotes at least some time to them, his wife has little legitimate cause for complaint. Yet, on the other hand, a woman can never spend "too much" time with her family; her role demands as mother and wife are such that they intrude on all other roles (Epstein, 1971: 100).

It has often been said that one of the reasons why professional women do not have the same success ratio as do men is that they do not have wives--or unpaid assistants at home (Epstein, 1971: 101). David Riesman, in his introduction to Jessie Bernard's Academic Women (1964), stated that over ninety per cent of academic men have wives who, even if they are gainfully employed, ". . . guard their husbands' productivity in obvious and subtle ways, just as the husband's secretary or the woman librarian. . . speeds him on his way. . ." (Bernard, 1964: xxiv).

These sex differences in family role expectations do seem to affect academic women in a negative way, augmenting the problems that women professionals have with stereotypic attitudes concerning women's lack of competence and commitment. A look at the goals and criteria of success of women academics indicates that in certain circumstances women adjust their professional goals to the expectations that others have for them

Definitions of Success: Adjusting to the Power Structure

As indicated by Bernard (1964), the "man of knowledge role" has not been commonly viewed as appropriate for women. She felt that this role involved an obligation to participate in conflict and debate and, frequently, a rather blatant profession of expertise. This is a role which women are seldom socialized to accept. A component of the "female role" in our culture, according to Talcott Parsons (Parsons and Bales, 1955: 313-14), involves the socio-emotional task of smoothing disagreements and dissipating tension--which is not totally compatible with the professorial role (Bernard, 1964: 141ff).

Since the goals set by the university as an institution are "task-oriented," the following quote from Academic Women by Bernard portrays the conflicts experienced by one female teacher:

> 'I sometimes toy with the idea that perhaps women are not only not valuable but actually subversive elements in modern academia. I sometimes ask myself: do the values they present as women [read: their expressive-emotional roles] interfere with the achievement of the [instrumental] goals set for university students' (1964: 143).

The above statement indicates that values and characteristics which women are taught are not only irrelevant to academia but are seen as counter-productive. However, this sort of viewpoint would only be held by those who feel that the current atmosphere of competition and the structure of academia is 'functional' for both men and women, a point with which the author does not agree. In fact, the present study indicates that women in academia are to a large extent ignored.

If we examine the formal statements of job requirements for university teachers such as those published by the Canadian Association of University Teachers, we find little indication that women exist as university teachers. For example, in the May 1970 edition of the CAUT Bulletin (: 68), we note that the essential requirements of the university teacher are "the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge and understanding through teaching and research. He must devote his energies to develop his scholarly competence and his effectiveness as a teacher" (underlining mine). He is seen as having three major aspects to his role: teacher, scholar, and colleague. We find that the pronoun "he" is consistently used when referring to the university teacher. While the pronoun is grammatically correct, it can give the impression that university teaching is the exclusive realm of men.

The major aim of the Association of Academic Staff of the University of Alberta is to "foster academic fraternity among members of the association" (Faculty Handbook, 1968: 37).[1] One again gets the distinct impression that women are not included in this group of university teachers, even if this impression is only derived from the denotations and connotations of a few words.

When types of leave are discussed in the Faculty Handbook of this university, they mention sabbatical leave, leave with assistance for advanced study, leave to hold political office, and leave with or without pay, yet there is no mention of maternity leave which might logically be the most common type of leave requested for women. This is certainly an indication that the characteristics commonly attributed to women and their unique biological circumstances are not relevant to this occupational setting. It could therefore be concluded that women are perceived more as being irrelevant to academia rather than being subversive. If women occupy the lower echelons of the profession, frequently with part-time positions, they have less opportunity to become subversive in that they have little power or authority to effect changes in the profession.

If women as a group are perceived by male colleagues and administrators as occupying a relatively unimportant position in academia, it would be interesting to investigate the goals and ambitions of women academics themselves. Do they adjust their definitions of success to the expectations provided for female academics by the stereotypes, or do they attempt to strive for the same goals as men?

We asked the women who were interviewed when they would consider themselves to be "successful" in their careers by their own definitions of success. We also asked if they considered themselves to be successful now and, if so, why. Through these questions, we attempted to get some indication of the effect of socialization on female sex roles in terms of their occupational goals.

Contrary to Bernard's finding (1964), we found that only five women out of thirty-eight stressed teaching proficiency as their most important criterion for success. On the other hand, fifteen women mentioned such extrinsic criteria of success as high salary, high rank, publications, or recognition by colleagues. Of the fifteen women choosing extrinsic criteria, twelve were under the age of forty (see Table Seventeen). Rank was not correlated with definitions of success.

Table Seventeen

Definitions of Success by Year of Birth

Definition of Success	Year of Birth 1945 to Present	1940-1944	1935-1939	1930-1934	1920-1929	Before 1920	Total
Irrelevant concept, Never thought about it	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
Short-term, intrinsic definition	2	4	3	0	3	2	14
Teaching proficiency	1	0	1	0	1	2	5
Extrinsic, professional rewards (salary, rank, publications)	4	4	4	2	1	0	15
Total	7	8	8	2	8	5	38[1]

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[1] One woman in the oldest age category was not asked this question, as she had to rush off from the interview to go to class.

Fourteen of the women interviewed mentioned short-term goals or intrinsic criteria of success. These intrinsic criteria would include personal satisfaction gained from the job, freedom from supervision, interest in the subject matter, and an opportunity to learn from the job. For example, one woman stated that she would consider herself successful in her occupational life "When I am satisfied with my life, and with what I am doing day by day." She said that she does not measure success in terms of money or prestige, but in terms of personal satisfaction. It was also evident that for a number of women, this personal satisfaction had to cover their entire lives, including marital happiness or contentment with personal relationships, before they would consider themselves successful.

One assistant professor in education commented, "I have no specific long-range goal. . . no administrative goal, or publishing." Another assistant professor in the humanities indicated, "I'd like to write novels, but that won't help me academically. I have more short-term goals." A sessional lecturer in the social sciences stated, "I don't think of it as a career. I'm just grateful for the appointment." There was no significant trend of age group or rank among those who answered in this way.

Four women in the sample answered that they had never thought about their goals, or definitions of success, and, further, did not think "in those terms." For example, one woman, a full professor in the humanities who was nearing the retirement age, answered, "I don't know what you mean. I can't answer that question. I just do what I have to do."

Another older sessional lecturer in the faculty of science replied, "I'm opposed to the whole notion of success. It's an archaic approach. We're taking over an ethos which is already passe." This same woman had previously stated, "Woman are not making a choice to a higher level of endeavour by entering a competitive occupation."

Another older professional officer in sciences answered, "I don't know what you mean. I'm certainly looking forward to retirement." A sessional appointee in the social sciences answered similarly:

"I don't know what you mean--I've never thought about it. I'm not at all philosophical. I learn a lot from everything I do." She mentioned that she would feel that she was taking a job away from a young man if she accepted a full-time appointment. The general attitude toward women's definitions of success in academia was: "Women generally prefer to be a close assistant to someone than. . . to run the whole show themselves."

It was interesting to note that the women who answered that "success" was a notion which was foreign to them were all over the age of fifty. The younger women were more likely to indicate that their definitions of success were more consistent with their male colleagues.'

In fact, ten women who were interviewed felt that there were no differences in the criteria of success held by men and women academics. One full professor in the faculty of physical education stated, "There are no sex differences [in the criteria of success], but differences between individuals." Another woman in the interviews indicated that there were greater differences in values and criteria of success between universities than between men and women.

Seven women felt that there were definitely differences in the criteria of success of men and women based on their different social and familial roles. Some of the comments from the interviews will illustrate these various viewpoints.

One professional officer in the faculty of science stated that "Men seem terribly hooked on titles. I think they are thinking of their obituaries." A doctoral student in the social sciences made a similar comment: "Men are hung up on the success ethic. Maybe women are too--once they get into academia and get caught on the treadmill of publishing. . . ." A former doctoral student in the faculty of science indicated: "Based on the small sampling of my classmates, my male colleagues were more interested in the position that they would be able to secure as a result of their degree."

One full professor felt that there were different criteria of success for men and women in academia in that "rank and prestige seem to be more important to a man. . . . Women seem to be more interested in an interesting and rewarding experience. . . . Men are more concerned with salaries and promotion and women are more interested in teaching and the human relations aspect of their work."

One sessional appointee felt that there were different criteria of success for academic men and women. "Unfortunately, women are sometimes satisfied to be the best woman. They compare themselves to other women rather than to all scholars. That's the problem with segregating students--the women are judged by less rigourous criteria. Women are also less likely to be promoted than men, and are less likely to get administrative positions and salary raises."

One associate professor in education felt that women make better teachers than men. "Men are not practical enough, and can't come down to the level of the children's thinking and difficulties" [she was speaking mainly of teaching in the school system]. She also felt that women teachers in high school "were more successful in getting the students through, judging from the range of difference in the results from the provincial exams of those with women teachers and those with men teachers." She generally felt that "men don't put the time and energy into communicating as women do," and thus women also make better university teachers than men. Her definitions of success and conceptions of the abilities of academic women were consistent with the stereotype.

Especially among the younger women, there was a trend to comment that differential treatment of men and women augments any "natural" differences in criteria of success. Ten women answered in this way. In other words, because administrators and male colleagues act as though men and women value different things in their work the result is a 'self-fulfilling prophecy.' One associate professor in the faculty of science stated, "Women are not promoted at the same rate as men, and perhaps rationalize this by saying that they are more interested in teaching. The women do the scutty work in the labs and get no credit for it. It's a housekeeping role. Whether they enjoy these jobs or just rationalize their poor position, I don't know."

One woman who had withdrawn from a Ph.D programme later decided that she would like to study dentistry. She stressed that "Dentistry is a technical profession that you can take anywhere. You can advance according to your own ability and work." She further mentioned that "Women are better at tedious work," implying that for that reason they would make good dentists.

A doctoral student in the humanities indicated, "Sometimes a woman has to be brighter." A sessional lecturer in the social sciences stated, "Women have to produce more and do better."

A doctoral student in the social sciences mentioned, "A married woman is lauded if she can manage both home and career well," when asked about the criteria of success for men and women academics. A sessional appointee in the faculty of science further indicated:

"They [the administration] think that women are satisfied with less--or they think women should be." In other words, the orientations of male and female professors are different, essentially because they are treated in different ways.

When asked why they thought that there were so few women university professors in Canadian universities, twenty-five women gave as a major reason the fact that girls are socialized to value different things in life--to concentrate on family relationships rather than a career which requires lengthy preparation.

The older women and those with a higher rank were more likely to give differential socialization as a major reason for the lack of women in academia. For example, a sessional in the faculty of science stated: "Women generally choose less demanding occupations that can be set aside during childbearing years. . . . A woman's occupation is usually secondary to her family life." A professional officer in the medical sciences indicated: "The majority of women are not career-minded, and don't think in terms of long-range career plans." An assistant professor in the humanities stated, ". . . through the process of socialization, women are encouraged to be mothers and homemakers, or are channelled into "female" jobs. . . . There is also some pressure from other women and parents indicating that women with young children are neglecting their families by working full-time." An associate professor in the social sciences mentioned with respect to the lack of women professors: "Women don't offer themselves in large income areas such as university teaching."

One older professional officer in science indicated with respect to a number of undergraduate women she knew: "Women have very low aspirations." She mentioned that this partially starts at home but is perpetuated by the school system. She stated that her own girl was counselled to be a nurse or a teacher by her guidance counsellors even though she wanted neither of these occupations. She mentioned that ". . . even the younger women think of their role in life as involving marriage, family, and security."

One doctoral student in the faculty of science mentioned that "Women are *conditioned* to want a short-term job before they get married, and then to want a husband and children rather than a career. Consequently, fewer women apply to graduate school and the *drop-out rate is higher for women*."

With respect to the ease with which women can withdraw from the university, a former doctoral student from the faculty of science mentioned: "Then there is the whole question of ambition. It is fostered more in boys than in girls. It's easier for girls to *get over* their ambitious motives and still retain a good self-image. . . . I know some very intelligent girls who are satisfied doing nothing--well, I shouldn't say *nothing*--being housewives."

One of the reasons given for the high attrition rate of women graduate students was given by a female sessional appointee. "It is *easier* for a woman to quit. It's a socially acceptable option. People say--they've come back to *normal*--why butt your head against the wall? People feel that women are *unfulfilled* if they do not accept the traditional female role--that they will become neurotic."

An associate professor in the social sciences stated that "Many women marry and decide--or are *conned* by their spouses, into letting them [their husbands] have the major career, or to submerge their careers to their husbands.'" This particular woman apparently got a divorce from her husband for this very reason.

Another woman in the interviews mentioned the differential socialization of girls and boys. "No pressure is put on girls to come to university." With respect to why so few women become university professors, one former doctoral student indicated: "Women are still not as motivated as men. There are more pressures on them to go in several directions. . . . there are more alternatives. For a man, there is still a stigma attached to changing one's occupation." With respect to the science department from which she withdrew, she mentioned, "You can't leave the department and return later, as your research is outdated. And you are lucky if you can get a university teaching job without a Ph.D."

Most of the women who were interviewed implied or stated that there should be some changes in the way that girls are socialized, with less emphasis on relationships and more on intellectual development. One doctoral student in the humanities mentioned." Women are trained to put most of their energy into a relationship with the right man and maintaining the right image. An academic career takes a great deal of emotional energy." A former doctoral student in science, who withdrew from the programme, stated: "Female graduate students unconsciously absorb the idea that they will have problems--that they won't get to the top, that they will have to compete with men, and that they will have an extra load [housework]." This, she felt, discouraged women from aspiring to the profession.

Twelve women, essentially students or sessional appointees, indicated that women were less likely to enter the academic profession and less likely to be successful once in the profession because of "discrimination" against women. One Ph.D drop-out indicated: "You had to be on the top if you were female, even though they would accept a mediocre man." However, only two women in the sample stated that "discrimination" was the major reason for the lack of women in academia. About nine women under the age of forty mentioned that socialization, the present division of labour in the family, and discrimination within academia, were all factors contributing to the paucity of women university professors.

We feel that the perceptions of these women concerning the lack of women in academia are not very accurate, especially among those women with high rank. Concentration on differential socialization omits the deliberate and unconscious "put-downs" which women experience in this occupation. Uncritical statements which indicate that academic women have more domestic responsibilities than men seem naive, in that they disregard the power structure in academia, in the family, and in society in general.

In the September 1971 edition of the CAUT Handbook (: 43), there is a policy statement on equal opportunity for women faculty members. It states:

> The Canadian Association of University Teachers is of the opinion that, in accordance with the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, there should be no discrimination based on sex among faculty members, with regard to pay, status, or work-load. Women who are appointed to the teaching staff of a Canadian university are expected to have the same opportunities as similarly qualified men.

Twenty-three of the thirty-five universities and colleges in Canada endorsed this policy of ensuring equal opportunity to women members of the faculty. The university presently under investigation endorsed the policy. However, the majority of women who were interviewed at this university felt that women were not treated equally to men with respect to professional opportunities and rewards.

Summary

In this chapter, we have examined the consistency between the female sex role and professional roles by analyzing comments from the case histories of academic women. We have found that there is a shortage of suitable role models to encourage young girls to pursue university teaching as a career. In fact, several of the women interviewed attributed some of their personal and career problems to the shortage of female professors after whom to model their lives. We also noted that a small number of women used their mothers or a particular professional woman as a "negative" role model, and worked hard not to be in a similar disadvantaged position.

It has also been shown through the interview results that women are often channelled into occupations or areas of specialization which are consistent with stereotyped images of the "feminine" role.[2] Consequently, women who do not follow that stereotyped role, particularly with respect to marriage and childbearing, are sometimes plagued with guilt or "role conflict." They are often subject to pressures from parents and colleagues, reminding them of what "normal" women do, and thus of their own atypicality.

One trend remains clear in the present study; that is, that the parents of these women generally supported higher education for females and strongly encouraged their daughters to receive a post-graduate education. However, in a few circumstances, the parents were still ambivalent about their daughters having a full-time career despite their formal education.

Another trend that was evident in the present study was a conscious rejection on the part of these women of the traditional feminine role, which implied a subjugation of their own intellectual lives to that of a man. Some women stated that they forfeited marriage because it was not possible in present-day society for a woman to have a successful career and a successful marriage. However, most women felt that they could have both marriage and career if they ignored the popular stereotypes and a few "old-fashioned" colleagues and parents who felt that a woman with young children belonged at home.

The results of the interviews do reveal some differences between the attitudes of the younger and older women. The women who were under the age of thirty seemed to experience fewer role conflicts than the older women had. This was particularly noticeable with the married women. The younger married women seemed more comfortable about leaving their children with a "surrogate mother," were less likely to feel that they "had to" stay home with their young children, and were less likely to feel that their husbands' careers were more important than theirs. This may indicate that the traditional acceptance of the status quo with respect to the division of labour in the family and the submergence of the wife's interests to those of her husband is breaking down.

Although we have indicated that the majority of women interviewed in the present study were aware of the differential and unequal treatment which they were receiving, it still remains necessary to discuss these findings in light of our "minority group hypothesis." Characteristics of minority groups must be examined in more detail. Therefore, the following chapter examines the applicability of the "minority group" concept to women university professors in male-dominated departments.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

[1] "Fraternity" is defined in Webster's New World Dictionary as "A group of men joined together by common interests, for fellowship, . . . a group of people with the same beliefs, interests, work. . . ." Here is another example of a word in the English language which has a masculine referent as well as a more generic referent (additional examples would be "man," "he").

[2] We might add that this present role structure is perpetuated by keeping women in "women's jobs" and socializing young girls to believe that their primary responsibility is to their families. In this way, the occupational sphere of men and the present power structure is not threatened. Girls who are encouraged to challenge the system at home are sanctioned in the school system and occupational world, thus maintaining the status quo. Therefore, the "deviance" of these academic women cannot be accounted for entirely by differential socialization. Socialization is not a sufficient causal explanation for their "success." It could be said that the structure of academia is such that a few women are allowed to succeed as "proof" of non-discriminatory practices. These "token" women often become staunch defenders of the system--"Queen Bees"--and in fact make it more difficult for other women to succeed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WOMEN AS A MINORITY GROUP IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

Introduction

Within the past few years, the assumptions behind separating the activities of males and females have been questioned. Schools have changed their policies of teaching only girls household economics and only boys industrial arts. Beverage rooms are now generally built for both sexes. Separate faculty lounges in schools and universities are considered a remnant of the past. Yet, despite the fact that the policies of segregation and the outward structures have changed, the practice of differential treatment of the sexes remains.

Discriminatory practices have been documented throughout the present study. But the question remains: Do women perceive the differential treatment which they receive, particularly in professional life, to be a disability to them? Do they feel that it is unwarranted, unequal, and unnecessary? Or are they even aware that they are treated any differently than their male counterparts?

Kurt Lewin (1941) has indicated that group self-hatred has been a frequent reaction of minority group members to their group affiliation. This feeling is manifested in a tendency to denigrate other members of the group and to accept the dominant group's stereotyped conception of them.

Hacker (1951) noted that women often manifest many of the psychological characteristics which have been imputed to self-conscious minority groups. They are often accused of being 'catty' and disloyal, and frequently exceed men in the violence of their abusive comments about their sex.

Among the women interviewed for the present study, there was a tendency among those with high rank to state that ". . . women are their own worst enemies." They indicated that women's lower status in academia was the fault of the women themselves because they lacked the "necessary qualifications" and made no attempt to qualify for full-time positions. Another reason given for the low rank of sessional appointees was that they had "divided interests" (usually a husband or children), and that they cannot expect to "have their cake and eat it too." This was a frequent comment among single women; that professional commitment for a woman implied "giving up" certain traditional conjugal arrangements.

One comment indicating that women often distrust other women came from a lecturer in the faculty of education. She feels that there are many anti-female feelings of "subtle innuendos" that women experience, and that women consequently lack confidence in themselves. She further mentioned that "they often run each other into the ground. . . they don't see themselves as Ph.D material."

An associate professor in the social sciences expressed a negative attitude toward other women when she said, "I hate to say it, but some of the women in this department [graduate students] are here looking for a husband." This comment indicates that women as well as men feel that other females are uncommitted to their professional pursuits. It could also indicate that "looking for a husband" has different consequences for a woman than looking for a wife has for a man, as a "wife" is often viewed as an asset to a man's career. A husband, on the other hand, often diverts a woman's concentration from her career.

A full professor in the humanities in her mid-sixties, a married woman with no children, commented, "Women are their own worst enemies. They hire other women to do that work which they consider to be most undesirable [housework] and pay them the minimum wage."

A full professor in the faculty of science, a married woman with two children, indicated that any problems that academic women had were caused by "wrong attitudes," implying that they did not espouse professional ideals. She further stated that academic women who feel that they suffer "discrimination" bring it upon themselves.

An assistant professor in the faculty of dentistry, a woman in her mid-fifties, mentioned, "Women are partly to blame [for their lower occupational status] as they sometimes use devious tactics. I wouldn't want to work under all women. . . . I would prefer a man to some women. What they say and what they do are sometimes two different things. Men call a spade a spade. Women are sometimes too emotional." This same woman later indicated that ". . . Women's organizations drive me up a tree. I'm not anti-social, but I think that they're a waste of time."

As sessional appointee in the faculty of science, again an older woman of about fifty years indicated her distrust for women. She admitted that most students preferred to have a man teaching them, stating that she also prefers a male teacher ". . . as their voices carry more authority, and their energy is not diverted as a woman's is."

A doctoral student in her late twenties, who was in the faculty of arts, mentioned that women who married academic men were trying to get "a quick professorship." She stated that a woman has to be "brighter" to succeed in academia "unless she pulls strings with an academic man." This woman is separated from her husband and seems very bitter about marriage, men, and life in general.

The above examples are some indications that women often espouse the same stereotypes of women that men do, and do not always perceive other women as "allies" who are fighting a similar cause. They often criticize other women for "faults" which are non-perceptible in men.

One woman in the sample, an older professional officer in the faculty of science, perceived that she and a Black male student were in a similar position in their graduate school class, as they both were "trial balloons." "As he was the first Negro and I was the first female [to be admitted to graduate school at that particular university and department], we had a strong liasson with each other. We both felt that we had to "prove" ourselves and, for that reason, there was pressure on us."

Despite the fact that academic women often make disparaging comments about other women, there was an indication from the interviews that minority group consciousness is developing among academic women. The recent rise of the Women's Movement and the increasing number of investigations into the status of women are indications that women throughout North America are beginning to perceive themselves as a group with something in common--their low status and lack of power.

Women within the university at which the study took place also gave an indication that they were conscious of their minority group status.

The formation of the Academic Women's Association was an expression of the opinion that women academics have different interests and problems than their male counterparts. This association has made a number of women aware of their minority group status. For example, one full professor in physical education mentioned, "If I hadn't gone to the Women's meetings, I wouldn't have known about other women's problems, as I personally never felt discriminated against."

One indication of the existence of a female sub-culture was a statement made by an assistant professor of a professional school. She was an older woman who was the only female in her department. She commented, "My colleagues now treat me as an equal. . . . I can talk confidentially with my colleagues and am not ostracized, but there can be no group stance as I am the only woman." She indicated that there were some issues of particular interest to women, mentioning: "I can't bargain on my own. If there was a group of women, we could make ourselves heard."

The feeling that women within academia were subject to different background experiences and had different problems in their personal lives has been indicated in Chapter Six in the discussion of role conflict. The fact that women feel that they as a group suffer salary discrimination and receive fewer promotions will be discussed in the next section. These experiences serve to validate the minority group status of academic women.

Perceptions of Salary Differences

Most studies investigating salary differences between male and female academics have been more concerned with measuring actual salary differences from personnel files rather than perceptions of salary differences. One statement which was frequently made in the interviews is that academics are largely unaware of what their colleagues are earning. For this reason, it is possible for salary differences to exist without any awareness of differential treatment.

Ferber and Loeb (1973) concluded in their study of performance, rewards, and the perception of sex discrimination in a number of university departments that women were more likely to believe that the treatment of the sexes was unequal in their department. Married women tended significantly more often than single women to perceive unequal treatment. The most frequent allegations of sex discrimination include slower promotion, the discriminatory assignment of women to administrative and committee positions, and lower salaries.

A number of women who were interviewed for the present study had complaints about salaries--generally that they were low compared to a particular male colleague's. One woman in the medical sciences explained that a man with a two-year diploma from a technical college was earning more money than she was with a Master of Science degree and part of a Ph.D. She also claimed to have more work experience than he did. She stated that she was given "a small raise" when she insisted on an increase; but with his regular increments his salary would soon surpass hers again.

Another woman in education was hired as a lecturer when her male colleague, who graduated from the same department at the same time as she, was hired as an assistant professor. Only after a new chairman came to the department was this woman promoted to the same level as her male colleague.

In some cases, women were paid lower salaries because they were not doing comparable work to their male colleagues--or so they were told. A sessional appointee in the faculty of science stated that "The university attempts to get the most out of women and offers them the least amount of money they can get away with. Men still think that we are working for 'pin money' or to fill our hours."

One woman, who is presently a full professor in the faculty of science, denied the existence of any sex discrimination against women. But she mentioned that when she first came to this university she was hired on a part-time basis even though she ended up doing a full-time job. Her husband was also hired in the same department, but she received one-third the salary that he received. When questioned further, it became apparent that they received their doctorates at the same time and both had the same amount of teaching and research experience. With respect to this low salary, she replied, "It seemed reasonable at the time."

An associate professor in education mentioned that although she received her doctorate two years before her husband did, when they were both hired at this university, he was hired as an associate professor and she as an assistant professor. She explained that he was paid a "very high salary" and hired at the upper associate level because his degree in business was "very much in demand." She stated that there were "perfectly good reasons for paying him more"--such as "the law of supply and demand." However, she said, "I won't pretend that I wasn't a little hurt."

Another example of the lower salaries of women academics was given by a professional officer in the faculty of science. With a Master's degree, she assisted her professor-husband with his research but could be paid no money as it was against grant regulations to pay members of one's own family. After doing this work for three years with no pay, the university paid her $35 per month for her efforts--a sum which did not even cover the cost of her babysitter. She stated with respect for remuneration for her work: "I was so stupid, I didn't even realize that I should have fought for it." With hindsight, she was disgusted at her own "stupidity" in allowing herself to be exploited in such a way.

Another associate professor in the social sciences was originally hired as a part-time sessional for $1500 per year with a doctorate, and her husband was hired at the same time as an assistant professor without his doctorate. He had applied for the job first, and she accompanied him and later looked for employment. When asked why he looked for a position first when she had the Ph.D degree first, she answered that they ". . . just assumed that he would take a job first. We didn't actually discuss it--it was just an understanding." Two years after her husband was hired, she was given a full-time appointment in the same department. She felt that she has advanced more slowly than others in the department, essentially because she tends to emphasize teaching more than research and "teaching doesn't count at all in this department."

There was some indication that although women were frequently paid less than their male counterparts, they sometimes accepted this situation rather passively. For example, one associate professor in education, who was originally hired as a sessional and paid a very low salary after coming from a position of high prestige at another university, was asked why she accepted the salary that was offered her. It seemed that she had not even inquired about the salary before she accepted the position. In discussing this during the interview, she just smiled and shrugged and replied, "It was never discussed."

In addition to the fact that many women do not bargain for higher salaries as men often do, there was some indication that women do not have additional sources of income to the same extent as men. For example, none of the women interviewed mentioned that they had any consulting jobs. A small number gave guest lectures to other faculties or to professional associations. But it was apparent that men have a greater potential salary just because they are asked to take on more non-teaching tasks as a part of their occupational role. With respect to this, one assistant professor in physical education stated, "Male professors in physical education get paid for more things--such as coaching. Women don't make demands for extra money like the men."

Perhaps the fact that women seldom seem to be hired as consultants is an indication of their lack of recognition as competent professionals in the wider community. A lack of recognition within academis in the form of lower salaries and slower promotional rates would affect the prestige of women scholars outside academia.

Discrepancies in the salaries of male and female academics are fairly tangible, objective, measures of sex discrimination. When we turn to more subjective indications, such as a lack of recognition of women academics, we find that they are more difficult to evaluate.

However, this does add to the minority group thesis in that it attempts to evaluate women's perception or feelings of discrimination.

Perceptions of Lack of Recognition

Perception of lack of recognition is one indication of minority group status, and the women in the present study frequently commented on this perception. For example, statements were made that the opinions of women carried no weight in meetings. Women were said to receive salary increments and promotions less frequently than men and to be expected to publish more to gain the same amount of recognition as men. One woman mentioned that she was frequently mistaken for a secretary, and another said that she had difficulty receiving a sabbatical leave even though she was eligible for it. Many women mentioned that the expertise and commitment of women professors were often questioned in situations in which the same qualities were assumed to exist in a man. These comments will be discussed in more detail in this section.

One common complaint which was frequently made by the interviewees of the present study was that women were not 'recognized' unless they proved to be superior to their male colleagues. One doctoral student in the humanities indicated that female professors have to publish more and better articles and have more and better graduate students to be treated as professional equals. An assistant professor in the social sciences mentioned that female professors have to be more qualified initially to get hired and referred to the university as a male-dominated society.

When discussing academic ideologies, we mentioned that the expertise and commitment of women professors is often questioned in circumstances where similar qualities in males are "taken for granted." This could also be perceived as a form of lack of recognition of women's abilities. One doctoral student in the social sciences stated that ". . . in coming to a new place, you have to re-establish your credibility and worth. I think that this is harder for a woman [because of the prejudices against women intellectuals]."

Another Ph.D student in the social sciences mentioned that her professors viewed her as a "quaint oddity" and a "talking dog" when she expressed interest in continuing for a doctoral degree. This woman also felt that female professors are "challenged at the beginning" by both students and colleagues and were sometimes treated as "sex objects or threats."

Concerning lack of recognition of women professors, a professional officer in the faculty of medicine felt that in her faculty women's opinions "carry no weight at all." She mentioned that the students who enter the medical laboratory science course ". . . are mostly girls with very high averages, whereas the boys [in the course] are in the bottom third. I wouldn't like to think that this is a second class choice and that the girls come here rather than [to] medicine." She also mentioned that the instructors in pathology and medical laboratory science, who are almost entirely female, have just signed a contract agreeing not to advance beyond the instructor level. She stated that this was a vast improvement over what they had before, as they previously were hired on a part-time basis with no fringe benefits. Now at least they have a full-time position with some fringe benefits. But she indicated that these women are in a very marginal position and are virtually ignored.

Another assistant professor in the social sciences remarked about the fact that she is often mistaken for a secretary by both staff and students. As she shares a telephone with a male colleague, she is sometimes assumed to be his secretary and is expected to know where he is as well as to deliver messages for him. She resents these constant _faux pas_ very much.

A few women who were interviewed mentioned the situation of other female faculty members who they knew were having some difficulty receiving recognition for their work. For example, one woman who had withdrawn from a doctoral programme in the faculty of science stated that one of the reasons that she withdrew from this programme was a consequence of observing the situation of her advisor. She mentioned that her professor worked far more than her male colleagues and 'produced' more, but retained her low rank and salary. In fact, she stated that this woman was not given a promotion and salary increment until the Canadian Association of University Teachers' Status of Women Committee intervened on her behalf, demanding that the university pay her more money. The former doctoral student was discouraged by her advisor's career pattern, and felt that after many years of study and research she might be in a similar position.

With respect to problems in gaining recognition, particularly in the form of promotion, one assistant professor in a professional school mentioned that she was hired as a technician in her department even though she did some teaching. For several years, she was kept as non-academic staff, before they "promoted" her to the level of an instructor. She mentioned that "they led me to believe that the thing [her job] was going to develop faster than it did." She feels that her promotion was very slow, for they "promoted" her from instructor to lecturer before they finally gave her a position of assistant professor a few years ago. As she was originally hired in 1959 and is now in her mid-fifties, her rate of promotion has indeed been slow.

One full professor in the humanities felt that she would not be promoted without the Ph.D degree, even though there were men in her department who had become associate professors with an MA. She felt that ". . . it is rare that a woman would be promoted without having better qualifications than a man."

One illustrative example of the exclusion of women from certain professional duties was given by a sessional appointee in the faculty of education. She accused her chairman of sex discrimination when he chose a male graduate student to complete an overseas project, of which she had been in charge, because "he didn't want to travel overseas with a woman." This woman indicated that it was not until she made a "big issue out of it" that she was allowed to continue her work on this project and travel overseas.

With respect to the unequal treatment of men and women graduate students, a sessional appointee in the humanities mentioned, "A woman has to be better than a man to be treated equally intellectually. I've found this especially in graduate seminars here--they were threatened by my background and articulateness. One male student labelled me 'the bitch goddess' and felt that I didn't 'know my place,' but I hassled him too, so. . . ."

Some additional comments concerning the lack of recognition of women in academia include the comment of the associate professor in the social sciences: "Men get increments they don't deserve." An assistant professor in education stated that she expected to have more difficulty with promotion the farther she gets in her career because ". . . there is more resistance to women in positions of authority and high prestige than at the junior levels." This same woman felt that there were not more women in the profession because of "out and out discrimination against them." She stated that ". . . there are qualified women in many areas, yet they are not utilized to full capacity."

One doctoral student in the social sciences mentioned that after dating one of the professors in the department for several months she was denied an intersessional bursary. The only reason she could think of was that the department had assumed that she was not in financial need because of her liasson with this professor. It was not until she complained loudly that she was given such a bursary.

A number of other women mentioned instances in which they were passed over or indicated that women were less likely to be treated as professional equals. For example, an associate professor in the social sciences indicated, "There is a tendency to discriminate against women, calling into question not their academic qualifications but whether or not they would make 'good colleagues.' Women are also considered to be non-rational."

A sessional lecturer in education stated, "They wouldn't ask men to do the same sorts of jobs that they ask the sessionals [all women] to do." Another woman in education indicated, "Women have to push harder to achieve recognition than men, and men seem to drift easily to the top." Another woman in education, an associate professor, mentioned, "It is well-documented that women, partly through their own faults, have been overlooked in key positions."

Another form of sex discrimination is in the granting of sabbatical leaves. One full professor in physical education, who was reluctant to admit any kind of discrimination against women in academia, told of her application for sabbatical leave. She said that fifteen others at the university also applied, and eleven were granted this leave. The eleven were all males and the four who were refused were females. She said that she ". . . decided to make an issue out of it," and went to the dean to ask him why all the women were refused. He said that "the men needed the extra money because they had wives to support." She went to the president of the university and asked him the same question. The president arranged for an "assisted leave" for her which she described as "peanuts." She did not seem at all concerned about the other women who had not been so vociferous or lucky as she, but did mention that "one might call that incidence sex discrimination."

From interviewing forty women at this university, it was concluded that the majority--twenty-five out of thirty-nine--and particularly the doctoral students, sessionals, and assistant professors--were of the opinion that their gender did in some way interfere with their occupational status and progress (see Table Eighteen). Although not all of these women expressed this feeling in an articulate way or labelled it 'discrimination,' they indicated through a discussion of various personal experiences that women were disadvantaged in academia in a way in which

Table Eighteen

Perception of Sex Discrimination against Women in the University by Rank

Perception of Discrimination Against Women[1]	Drop-out Doctoral Students	Doctoral Students	Sessional Lecturer	Professional Officer	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Full Professor	Total
Yes, definitely	1	4	5	2	5	1	0	18
Yes, minor	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	7
Uncertain	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
No, with qualifications	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	7
No, definitely	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	6
Total	3	6	8	2	7	8	5	39

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[1] The subjects were asked if they thought that women university professors had any special problems or disabilities which men did not have in the same occupation. They were not asked about "discrimination" per se.

men were not.

There also seemed to be a prevalent feeling of 'consciousness' of minority group status and a desire to meet with other academic women to discuss common problems, especially among the lower-ranking women. The ongoing Senate Task Force, the Academic Women's Association, and the present study aroused a considerable amount of awareness and interest in the status of women on campus.

Some women professors, who felt that they as women had no special disabilities in their occupational lives, were amazed and curious when they found that other women were experiencing problems. From the meetings of the Academic Women's Association, they found that some women were experiencing difficulties that could be attributed to "sex discrimination," such as receiving lower salaries and fewer promotions and being subjected to prejudicial attitudes. However, a few women who had high rank, and whom we labelled as "Queen Bees," denied the existence of discrimination and had no interest in the Association.

In Chapter Three, we hypothesized that ". . . women professors . . . feel marginal to the profession--powerless to improve their professional status, and are not accepted or treated as equals by colleagues, and as "experts" by "clients." In the following section, we will examine some of the statements made throughout the interviews to test the validity of the above statement.

Marginality of Women Academics

Although the concept of 'marginality' has been used in the literature of ethnic relations to refer essentially to a "cultural hybrid" resulting from migration and cultural revolution (Park, 1928; Simmel, 1908; Hughes, 1949), the concept could be broadened to include people caught between two value systems. The "marginal man" is defined in the broadest terms as "any individual who is simultaneously a member (by ascription, self-reference, or achievement) of two or more groups whose social definitions and cultural norms are distinctive from one another."[1] We feel that this definition of a marginal person could fit the position of a highly trained professional woman who is neither accepted by male colleagues as "one of them" nor is completely accepted by other women because of different interests and life-styles.

We feel that the concept of "marginality" is particularly appropriate to portray the situation of academic women, if the concept is defined to include both structural and psychological ramifications of being caught between two systems of values and norms. Structural marginality would include differential treatment and participation because of legal barriers, lack of opportunity, or the structure of the institution in question. On the other hand, psychological marginality would unequal participation on the part of the minority group because of feelings of inferiority, lack of worth, lack of ambition or motivation, or alternative goals. Although these latter psychological states could be engendered by continued discrimination by the majority group, they are significant to our discussion in that they sometimes counteract attempts to "improve" the status of the group involved. Because the concept of "marginality" includes the feelings of the minority group member in addition to the structure of the situation, we feel that it is more useful in the present study than concepts which include only the structural elements.

One expression of the marginality of women academics came out of the interview results. Before the interview, a number of women mentioned that they may not make suitable subjects for this study because they were "not very typical." After the more formal part of the interview was over, several women asked how typical they were compared to other academic women, admitting that they did not know any other women on this campus. These feelings of atypicality were expressed more often by women who were the only female in that particular department, especially if they had withdrawn from the university for a number of years for the purposes of childbearing. In other words, these women were unlike men in their career patterns but were unlike women in their occupational pursuits. Therefore, they were atypical.

One middle-aged woman, who had a sessional appointment in the social sciences, indicated that she felt that she was "atypical" in her interests and life-style. She stated that "anthropology attracts women and minorities--people who are out of step with society--and has readily accepted them to a greater extent than other disciplines." She indicated that she did not fit into the structure of academia, partially because she considered herself as 'old' compared to other students and partially because she is a woman in a male-dominated field.

A number of women expressed some difficulty, at least at the initial stage in their careers, in being accepted by colleagues as professional equals and being included in the informal decision-making processes of the department. For example, one woman commented that "male colleagues don't expect women to be particularly professional but give them credit for teaching."

This feeling that women were disadvantaged was far stronger among those at the lower ranks and especially among women with part-time appointments or those who were students.[2] This finding is consistent with the results of the preliminary analysis of the Senate Task Force (1973), as well as the research of Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne (1973) on the "Queen Bee Syndrome" among professional women.

Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne indicated that those women who were most successful by the standards of the profession were the _least_ likely to affirm that there was any discrimination against women in professional occupations. These women would far sooner believe that they had reached the upper echelons of the profession through their own ingenuity and intelligence--of their own merit--and that those who were not successful have failed because of their own inadequacies. This 'syndrome' was also found in the present study and mitigates against any _group_ stance to counteract women's minority group status.

Some examples of women interviewed who were labelled as "Queen Bees" are illustrated below. One associate professor in the social sciences stated that she is the only woman in her department. "I feel that I benefit from being the only one. My job is different than anyone else's. _I don't pose a threat to anyone_."

A full professor in the faculty of science, who is married with two children, mentioned that her ". . . rate of promotion has been _super_ because of my high student ratings, my student supervision, my administrative work, and the amount of research I have done." She has had no problems with child care as her mother takes care of her children.

Generally, this woman felt that women professors have no problems "except those that they bring upon themselves."

Another associate professor in the faculty of arts, who is widowed with three grownup children, proudly stated that she did not know any other women in the university other than the two in her own department. She said that she was "too busy to bother with them." She further stated that she was not concerned about other women on campus: "Maybe I should be more concerned about my fellow women, but I'm not. . . . I've been so 'liberated' since my husband's death that I could do with a little male help. I've had to be mother, father, uncle, banker. . . . everything to everybody. I wouldn't care if everyone was a 'male chauvinist,' as we could do with a little more of that in my profession. We had to fight so hard to get males into the field of dance."

One woman in a male-dominated professional school indicated that she was "aware of the 'problems' that my male colleagues have about having a woman on staff. I attempt to alleviate their concerns." She, in fact, seemed to spend much of her time and energy attempting to "buck the stereotypes of a woman lawyer," which to her included "someone in tweeds, and oxfords, with horned-rimmed glasses." Although this woman changed from a traditionally 'female' occupation of household economics to the male-dominated field of law, she still feels that "Women's Lib tends to degrade the roles of housewife and mother. Housework and caring for children require brains, commitment, and talent." She stated that she enjoyed doing housework but, when she occasionally complains, her husband suggests that she quit her job. She mentioned that her husband is English, Jewish, and has a very traditional view of women. "He doesn't help out at home, and I don't ask him to." She seemed proud of the fact that she managed "two jobs" well, feeling that by being both a competent wife and mother and a competent professor she could counteract the anti-female feeling in the faculty of law. However, despite her efforts, she still thinks that her colleagues are not convinced about the competence of women in general, but refer to her as an "unusual case."

These women who were labelled as "Queen Bees" generally had a rank above the level of assistant professor, although the last example is an exception to this. Most of them were married with children and had managed through a variety of favourable circumstances to "juggle" both their family life and occupational life with few conflicts. For that reason, they saw no reason why all women could not be as "successful" as they were.[3] The only antecedent factors which we could find in the background of these women were a number of fortunate circumstances which made their lives relatively easy and a driving ambition to be "successful" in spite of everything. These women seemed to give priority to their careers, even when they were married.

One recurring theme in the interviews was that certain university regulations worked to the particular disadvantage of women university professors. Although we discussed anti-nepotism rules and regulations concerning the hiring of the department's own graduates and their effect upon women's bargaining power, it is worth repeating again their contribution to women's marginal position.

Of the women interviewed in this study, twenty-six out of thirty-nine have been married at one time in their lives. Fifteen of the women who have been married were married to a university professor. Because married academic women are so frequently married to academic men, the problem of discriminatory nepotism rules becomes a very real and common problem (see Tables Eleven and Twelve in Chapter Four).

One woman's marriage broke up essentially over the nepotism issue. She was not able to pursue her chosen career at the university where her husband was employed. Because of her strong commitment to her career, she left her husband and found a suitable position in the university under investigation. As the nepotism rules were relaxed at this university in about 1965, her husband was able to find a position here several years later and they were remarried.

Table Nineteen indicates the interviewees' attitudes towards nepotism rules accroding to the respondents' ranks, while Table Twenty indicates attitudes by the respondents' age group.

Table Nineteen

Attitudes toward Nepotism Rules by Rank

Attitude towards Nepotism Rules	Rank Low[1]	 High[2]	Total
Discrimination against women	11	1	12
Just disagree	11	11	22
Should be retained	3	0	3
No opinion, undecided	2	0	2
Total	27	12	39

[1] Low rank includes Ph.D drop-out, doctoral student, sessional appointee, professional officer, and assistant professor.

[2] High rank includes associate professor and full professor.

Table Twenty

Attitudes toward Nepotism Rules by Year of Birth

Attitudes towards Nepotism Rules	Year of Birth Category		
	Born since 1935	Born before 1935	Total
Discrimination against women	9	2	11
Just disagree	11	11	22
Should be retained	1	1	2
No opinion, undecided	2	1	3
Total	23	15	38

Although a number of American women who were interviewed remarked that they came to this university essentially because so many American institutions had nepotism rules and they were consequently unable to find employment, there still seem to be informal regulations concerning nepotism at the university under investigation. Certain departments have an informal understanding that it is "unwise" to hire both husband and wife in the same department because of the potential segmentation of the department that this could cause. These 'understandings' have in fact put a number of women, especially the older ones, in a professionally marginal position. They had to work within the school system, do freelance work, or temporarily give up their careers, so that they were disadvantaged when they attempted to re-enter the profession.

None of the married women interviewed indicated that their husbands took sessional appointments so that their wives could have full-time positions. In fact, the usual pattern for academic couples followed in this sample was that the husband would apply for a position at a university of his choice, and after he was hired, the wife would start to look for employment at the same university or in the same city. She did not always find it. And when she did, it was almost always at a lower salary or rank than her husband, even when they had 'equal qualifications' (i.e., Ph.D received at the same time, equal work experience).

It was also a pattern among married women in the sample to be married to a man who already had his career firmly established or, at least, to complete their formal education after their husbands had established their careers. Thus they could justify the fact that they had deferred to their husbands' career ambitions.

Most of the married women indicated that there was no question that their husbands' careers came first and that it was their duty to make accommodations to their career transitions. For example, one assistant professor from the Middle East stated that she "had to go" where her husband's job took her. She further indicated that her husband does not even assist her with any of the housework or child care and that she must carry out two full-time jobs herself.

There was one woman in the sample who admitted that she had deferred to her husband's occupational transitions even though she was the major 'breadwinner' in the family. However, she seemed almost embarrassed to admit that when her husband had wanted to change graduate schools three times she quit her college teaching position and moved with him, but with each move her own position and salary suffered. With a Ph.D and seven years teaching experience, she is now a sessional lecturer.

Although both of the regulations delineated above could pertain equally well to both sexes, it is women who are in fact 'victimized' by them to a greater extent than men. With respect to nepotism rules, it seems that in Canada and the United States priority is given to the career of the husband, with little questioning of the rationale or practicality of such a ruling. Frequently, the wife accepts this priority without question, but the results of this sample indicate that the younger women are less likely to defer to their husbands' preferences than the older women. The younger academic couples seem to choose a university that has viable career opportunities for both husband and wife and also to share housework so that the wife doesn't end up with two full-time jobs.

The fact that women perceive that they are discriminated against in academia is not, however, an indication that they suffer from feelings of marginality. Only if it can be illustrated that these women are also not accepted by or do not feel comfortable with traditional female groups could their marginality be validated.

A number of women made mention of their attitudes toward women's organizations or feelings towards other women. For example, one professional officer in medicine found it amusing that the Faculty Women's Club attempted to mix the female faculty members with the wives of male faculty members--"as if they have anything in common." One associate professor in the humanities stated that she does not ". . . go for companionship with women. I spent so much time with women at . . . College, that if I don't see another woman again, I won't mind." An assistant professor in a professional school mentioned, "It would be difficult to break back into women's circles again. . . . I'm isolated now from working full-time. I have a different life-style from women who are not employed."

We attempted to discern if women in academia were concerned or eager to fight their marginal position. One way of attempting to expose their attitudes on this topic was to ask their opinions of the present policy in the United States of "Affirmative Action." This policy tries to give hiring preference to equally qualified women or minority group members to make up for the deficiency of such people in academic circles.[4]

The fact that only a slight majority of women interviewed were in favour of this policy is an indication that the ideology of "merit hiring," despite its built-in bias against women, has been accepted by a large proportion of female academics. Objections to "Affirmative Action" were generally based on the idea that with this policy the university was moving away from hiring on the basis of academic qualifications. Many women held a naive conception that academic qualifications are the only considerations when hiring academic men. Those who uncritically accepted the ideology of merit hiring were likely to also reject the Affirmative Action Program. Therefore, "Queen Bees" were likely to reject this policy.

For example, one "Queen Bee," a full professor in the faculty of science, stated with respect to "Affirmative Action": "It's reverse discrimination--I wouldn't use sex as a criterion at all." Another woman commented: "It's positive discrimination, and I am against it as a general principle. Women as far as objectively possible have to put themselves on the line and be judged by merit." A full professor in physical education stated, "If people are equally qualified and demonstrate competence, then sex doesn't matter." A former doctoral student, who withdrew from the programme, commented, "If carried to the extreme, it would be the same as giving preference to men."

Although some women saw inequalities in the system, they did not perceive "merit hiring" as a facade for particularism and the maintenance of the status quo. Lack of perception in this area meant that some women felt that women as a group were in a disadvantaged position in the university but were unable to locate some of the sources of the problem.

Some women who objected to the Affirmative Action Program referred to this policy as "lowering the standards." For example, one assistant professor in the faculty of law felt that giving hiring preference to equally qualified women and minority groups was ". . . a poor idea which can work against them. Special treatment can lead to failures which just reinforce stereotypes. Hiring should be only on the basis of merit. I don't think that the standards should be lowered to hire women, Canadians, Indians, or anyone."

On the other hand, many women viewed this policy as a possible solution to past injustices to women. But it was usually viewed as a temporary solution. A doctoral student in the humanities indicated, "It smells of patronage, but it's probably a good idea. Men have traditionally had the advantage." An associate professor in education commented, "I would support it. It's a well-documented fact that women [partly through their own fault] have been overlooked in key positions."

A professional officer in the faculty of science remarked, "I think it's necessary. If we don't give women preferential treatment, they'll never get equality."

At least two people in the sample had never heard of such a policy as the Affirmative Action Program. Six additional people either had not thought about the policy or saw both pros and cons so that they could not decide whether or not they agreed with it (see Table Twenty-One). However, it became increasingly clear that although many women saw discrimination against females in academia they were unsure of the source of the problem. Therefore they were unsure how to counteract it.

Table Twenty-One

Attitudes towards the "Affirmative Action Program" by Rank

Attitudes towards Affirmative Action Program	Rank		
	Low[1]	High[2]	Total
In favour	14	2	16
Uncertain	5	3	8
Against	8	7	15
Total	27	12	39

[1] Low rank includes Ph.D drop-out, doctoral students, sessional appointments, and assistant professor.

[2] High rank includes associate professor and full professor.

A number of women viewed changes as essential in academia but felt that moderate means would have to be used to bring about a greater representation of women. One full professor indicated that she thought that the Academic Women's Association meetings were generally "a good idea" but enjoys them more when they concentrate on what other women are doing in their jobs rather than on "women's liberation." She felt that the "best thing that women can do is to perform well in their field. Academic women should not push it too far."

One doctoral student in the faculty of medicine commented optimistically that ". . . this university has attempted to balance off the sex ratio, and now has about an equal number of female as male graduate students. In science, things are made very easy for women wanting to enter the field, and although there may have been a lack of encouragement in the past, it's now wide open for women." However, this woman contradicted herself by saying, "But there is still the usual kind of discrimination in science--some think that women should be given a harder time and others think that they should be favoured." This woman viewed the shortage of women in academia as almost entirely caused by the differential socialization of the sexes, rather than by "discrimination." Policies which favour men, over-critical comments about women professors, lack of acceptance of women as colleagues, and domestic responsibilities were not considered as significant to the status of women.

Generally speaking, the results of this sample indicate that the majority of women interviewed at this Canadian university felt that their gender was a disability in terms of hiring practices, salary increments, promotion, and professional status. However, they felt that the status of women was improving and that women now had fewer problems than they did even five years ago. Many women indicated, through various indirect comments, that they felt they were in a marginal position in that they were neither accepted as equals by their male colleagues nor could they fit back into the life-style of dependent women.

Sex as a Disability in Occupational Life

The last part of the minority group hypothesis states that "Women professors are hypothesized to hold the attitude that their sex is a disability in their occupational life." Although the validity of this statement has been indicated through a discussion of women's feelings of marginality within the profession, we would like to elaborate further on the general perception of sex discrimination in academia.

The Committee on the Status of Women at the University of Alberta, established in 1971, had concluded that women were clustered in the lower ranks, most often in positions of job insecurity without any fringe benefits. They therefore recommended that a more comprehensive research project be initiated in order to more accurately measure the effect of gender on the positions, income, and power of university professors. In May 1973, a Senate Task Force was established ". . . to examine the status of women employees, academic and non-academic, on campus."[5]

In November 1973, the Senate Task Force produced the preliminary analysis of one part of their study--a questionnaire mailed to academic staff members, full-time and part-time, asking for their perceptions of sex discrimination and differential career patterns of the sexes.[6] Because these results will contribute to and augment my own research project, a discussion of the findings will follow. Of the two thousand questionnaires that were mailed out to faculty, seven-hundred-and-seventy-two were returned. About one-third of the respondents were female and two-thirds were male. Therefore, women are over-represented in this study, as they form only 16.1 per cent of the full-time and 28.2 per cent of the part-time academic staff at the University of Alberta (Committee on the Status of Women, 1972).

Generally speaking, the respondents of the questionnaire believed that even though men and women are equally competent men have a higher status and don't have to work as hard as women to achieve an equal amount of recognition. Women were more likely to perceive this kind of discrimination. Table Twenty-Two portrays the percentages in each category.

Table Twenty-Two

Perception of Sex Discrimination in Status and Recognition at the University of Alberta, 1973

	All Respondents	Women	Men
Men and women equally competent	76.0%	74.2%	77.3%
Women must work harder for equal recognition	60.2	85.4	51.1
Men have a higher status in academia	65.3	79.8	60.1

Source: Derived from Senate Task Force on the Status and Career Patterns of Women Employees, Appendix Two, November 1973: 3-4.

With reference to hiring and promotion, women consistently saw a bias in favour of males in the university hiring policies. Men also saw this bias but to a lesser extent than did females. Additionally, a majority of women felt that there was discrimination against women in the awarding of above-normal merit increments. However, men do not perceive discrimination in this area. Both sexes see that men are more likely to be appointed to administrative positions, but women perceive that men are more likely to be promoted through the ranks and to be elected to major committees. Table Twenty-Three illustrates these results with the percentages of males and females who responded in each category.

Table Twenty-Three

Perception of Discrimination in Hiring and Promotion at the University of Alberta, 1973

	All Respondents	Women	Men
Males preferred in hiring policies	63.7%	81.7%	56.8%
Males preferred in hiring on a tenurable basis	58.2	80.3	49.6
Males preferred in the awarding of above-normal merit increments	33.7	54.9	25.5
Males preferred in the appointment to administrative positions	75.0	81.2	72.5
Males more likely to be promoted	49.7	74.6	40.2
Males preferred in election to major committees	53.5	74.6	45.6

Source: Derived from Senate Task Force on the Status and Career Patterns of Women Employees, Appendix Two, November 1973: 4-5.

There were no significant differences among respondents of the questionnaire in perceptions of teaching or research orientation or of the relative teaching effectiveness of males and females. However, men were more likely to feel that men were more effective researchers. The majority of both sexes believe that men have higher administrative aspirations. Women are more likely to believe that both sexes are equally competent administrators, but men are more likely to believe that men are better administrators.[7]

The questionnaire of the Task Force further found that staff members in the Faculty of Arts were more likely to see preferential treatment for men than were staff members in the Faculties of Science or Education. They also found a correlation between perception of discrimination and lower rank and lack of the Ph.D degree. However, this correlation can be partially explained by the fact that women are more likely to have no doctorate and a lower rank than men and are also more likely to perceive sex discrimination. Table Twenty-Four indicates faculty differences between the respondents of the questionnaire.

It could be concluded from a preliminary analysis of the data gathered from the questionnaire of the Task Force that the majority of female faculty at this university perceives that their sex is a disability in their occupational life.[8] The present study further substantiated these findings. A few statements made by the women who were interviewed strongly indicate sex discrimination against women in academia. A full professor and chairman in the humanities stated, "An outstanding woman will be compared to a very good man." A former doctoral student in the faculty of science commented, "Women graduate

Table Twenty-Four

Faculty Differences of Questionnaire Respondents, by Sex, University of Alberta, 1973

	Men	Women
Degree		
Bachelor's	7.0%	16.9%
Master's	17.3	34.7
Ph.D	72.7	39.4
Percentage Full Professors	89.2	10.8
Length of Appointment		
Less than four years	35.6	43.2
More than seven years	40.8	25.4
Age		
Less than 34 years	29.2	42.7
Over 43 years	35.1	28.6

Source: Derived from the Senate Task Force on the Status and Career Patterns of Women Employees, Appendix Two, November 1973: 8-10.

students are not sponsored as frequently, and if they are sponsored by a female professor, it is a weaker pull." A doctoral student in the social sciences stated, "Women are just blocked in a lot of ways. There are pressures on women to move out of the home--but there is no place to go." A sessional appointee in the humanities indicated, "It is easier for women [graduate students] to quit. It's a socially acceptable option. People say they've come back to 'normal.'"

These above examples indicate an awareness, and sometimes a great resentment, that to be a female in academia frequently means receiving a lower salary and rank than a male who is one's equal. It often means having to ask for a promotion to get one at all. And, it sometimes means not having children or conventional marriages; being subjected to assumptions of incompetence or lack of professional standards from colleagues; and usually a constant battle against stereotypes concerning women's abilities and appropriate roles.

Summary

In this chapter, we have applied the "minority group" concept to women in predominantly male departments in academia through an analysis of their personal career histories. We have found that these academic women sometimes exhibit those traits which are considered to be characteristic of minority groups--group self-hatred, distrust for other women, belief in the common stereotypes concerning women, and group self-consciousness.

We have also noted that the women in the present study were often aware of salary discrepancies between men and women, although they sometimes felt that they were "reasonable" or "just." However, it was the older women who portrayed this attitude.

Perhaps because women are socialized to be passive and not to "fight for their rights," they were unlikely (in this sample) to bargain for higher salaries or fringe benefits to the same extent that men might. They also did not seem to have additional sources of financial income to their teaching salaries.

In this study, many women perceived that women academics did not receive the same recognition as a similarly qualified man. In fact, a number of women mentioned that a woman has to be superior to receive the same recognition as a male academic. Other comments which came from the interviewees were that women were not listened to at academic meetings, that they were not nominated to important university committees, that they were not promoted as readily as men, that female graduate students were disliked if they were too outspoken in class, that women were sometimes denied financial resources as students, that women were given the less desirable jobs in the university, and that women are generally "overlooked" in the appointment to key positions. However, not all women felt that their sex experienced these problems. For example, those women who had high academic rank and who had successfully combined a career with marriage were less likely to admit that other women would have any problems except problems which "they bring upon themselves." We labelled these women as "Queen Bees."

Certain characteristics of the structure of academia, as well as the socialization of women, have placed women university professors in a position of marginality with respect to the profession. Anti-nepotism rules have often relegated faculty wives to part-time positions without fringe benefits, to non-academic positions, or forced them to give up their careers. Regulations against hiring the university's own graduates--which are informal departmental rules--have affected non-mobile married women in a similar way as do nepotism rules. Additionally, lack of maternity leave and allowances for women's childbearing functions have meant that some women have been forced to leave their jobs if they want to have children. These structural factors, along with exclusion from the informal networks within the department, have placed academic women in a marginal position.

The fact that the women in the sample were divided in their attitudes to the "Affirmative Action Program," which has been perceived by this author as one way of improving the status of academic women, essentially indicates that these women have accepted the academic ideology of hiring only on the basis of "merit." Reluctance to accept the fact that present hiring is not entirely on the basis of merit means that many women are opposing attempts to improve the lot of women university professors.

Although we have indicated that the majority of women in this sample are aware of the discrimination against women in the academic profession, their reluctance to admit that major changes will be necessary in the structure and processes of academic life will prevent this discrimination from being eradicated. Additionally, their fear of "rocking the boat" or losing their own precarious positions will further delay any changes in the status of women within university teaching.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

[1] Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, Dictionary of the Social Sciences.

[2] Of the thirty-nine women interviewed, twenty-three felt that there was definitely discrimination against women academics. The rest were uncertain or denied the existence of any discrimination. Of the twenty-three women who felt that there was definitely discrimination against women, only one was above the rank of assistant professor. Of the women who denied the existence of discrimination, twelve out of sixteen were above the rank of assistant professor.

[3] This elite minority of academic women could be compared to the "Uncle Toms" of the "Black Bourgeoisie" in the United States or to "token" Blacks in high places, the "comprador" classes in China and India, French-Canadian officials favouring "Federalism," or native elites in colonies who represent imperialist interests as local administrators. They support the established hierarchy because they have a stake in it.

[4] The Affirmative Action Program enforced these ideals by threatening to withdraw federal grants from those institutions which could not show that they made an effort to hire a minority group member or a woman. Consequently, a number of American colleges are soliciting the applications of Blacks and women in an attempt to 'prove' that they don't 'discriminate.'

[5] From the Minutes of the Spring Meeting of the University of Alberta Senate, May 25, 1973: 10-11.

[6] Senate Task Force on the Status and Career Patterns of Women Employees, Academic Staff Questionnaire, preliminary data analysis, November 1973.

[7] Senate Task Force Questionnaire, op. cit.: 7.

[8] Although the Senate Task Force questionnaire apparently was analyzed in November of 1973, it was not publicized until April of 1974. Therefore, the results did not 'bias' the interview findings in any way.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

Because of the tendency of social scientists to study lower status groups, both female and male researchers have concentrated on examining the status of women rathern than the status of men. Thus, very little is known about the social psychology of men in particular professions. If women are channelled out of certain fields because they are viewed as "unfeminine," then perhaps the men who choose these fields do so because they accord with their perceptions of masculinity. The entry of women into these fields may not only be viewed as an economic threat but also as a threat to men's very definition of self (Suelzle, forthcoming: 49).

The extent to which men denigrate or fear women needs to be investigated in occupations which have been defined as "feminine" as well as fields defined as "masculine." Another question which has remained largely unanswered in the literature is the extent to which the images held of the various professions correspond to what professionals in those fields actually do (Suelzle, forthcoming: 50). The present study has partially addressed itself to answering this question in the academic profession, with special reference to the effect of academic ideologies on females in the profession.

The present study indicates that tradition and early childhood socialization have been inadequate methods of social control to prohibit women from entering academia. Despite popular stereotypes of "suitable feminine occupations," some women have managed to aspire to and develop an academic career. These women generally come from upper-middle class backgrounds in which their parents have placed a strong emphasis on education. Frequently, their mothers have had professional careers or were at least "well-educated" women.

Once women have entered the academic profession, overt forms of discrimination become necessary to discourage them from further intruding on a male domain. Sex discrimination against women in academia has been shown to exist in the present study and is perpetuated in a number of obvious and subtle ways.

Traditional assumptions about the capabilities and roles of females discourage girls from aspiring to any occupation which is dominated by men. Secondly, the structure of the academic profession is designed by men for the convenience of men. If women are to "succeed" within this structure, they must attempt to model their lives after their male colleagues. Thirdly, the actual processes of academia operate to eliminate minority group members, especially women. Although this is not always a conscious process, many female graduate students and professors feel that they are attempting to function in a "man's world" and are excluded from personal networks which are essential to academic success. And finally, the division of labour in the family and the entire structure of Western capitalistic society is disadvantageous for women. The gender-based division of labour, in which women are held responsible for household maintenance and child care and in which priority is given to the career of the man, is an additional burden for all working women.

Traditional Assumptions and Female Socialization

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the appeal to the authority of 'Nature' could clearly define women's natural abilities and propensities, her education, and her appropriate role in society (Miller, forthcoming: 6). In doing so, the writers of this period were not only setting new and strict limits to the powers, pursuits, and education of women, but were also adding durable theoretical justifications for the legal, economic, social, and educational disabilities under which women lived. The "self-evident" natural differences between the sexes served as a basis for a number of inferences concerning the character and abilities of women and their "natural" relationship with the male sex (Ibid.: 6). By appealing to the physical nature of women, her exclusion from certain occupations and recreations was justified. Further, an entire dual system of morality and education was developed (Ibid.: 8).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, some colleges in the United States and universities in Canada has begun to admit women. Although one source of pressure to grant women the right to higher education was ideological--part of a generalized belief in the equality of all people--a second source of pressure was economic. Many of the American colleges were in financial need as a result of smaller enrollments of men during the Civil War and the economic recessions of the period. The women's colleges of the East served to educate women in that part of the country; but in the West, it was cheaper to admit women to the state universities rather than to construct separate institutions.

These institutions had small endowments and correspondingly greater financial pressures (Suelzle, forthcoming: 2). However, even after gaining acceptance to institutions of higher learning, women are still faced with overcoming the hurdle of traditional assumptions concerning women. For instance, whether women were physically and intellectually capable of advanced learning was still a current topic of debate at the end of the nineteenth century.

It took women decades to overcome the restrictions of traditional thought and enroll in institutions of higher education in any great number. But the fact that university faculties are still largely sex-typed is an indication that arguments concerning the abilities and 'natural' roles for the female sex have not yet been resolved.

The results of the present interviews revealed a strong consensus from the academic women who participated in the study that the characteristics and roles which girls in our society are socialized to adopt are both irrelevant and contradictory to professional expectations. They are said to be irrelevant in that such characteristics as persistence, commitment to an occupation, aggressiveness, independence of thought, and personal ambition are not encouraged in females in North American society. They are contradictory in that the demands and domestic responsibilities expected of females prevent them from carrying out their professional responsibilities in a manner similar to that of men.

With respect to socialization differences between the sexes, one assistant professor who was interviewed commented, "Female socialization is such that women don't fight for their rights. They don't often make a case for themselves, especially for promotions. There are also extra pressures on female academics beyond the usual pressures of publishing." A sessional lecturer in the social sciences stated, "The socialization process urges girls to get married and stay at home--to develop an interest in their families." An associate professor in the social sciences commented, "It's a long hard grind through graduate school. Women tend to marry and drop out before they get their degrees. A woman has the option and can drop out. . .," implying that men have less choice as they often must support a family.

A young single doctoral student in the social sciences stated, "The dominant trend in the socialization of girls stresses that the main role is that of the wife and mother. There is a stop-gap or insurance orientation toward careers for women."

An older full professor in the humanities, who was also single, commented on the "long training" period that is involved in becoming a university professor. "Women are inclined to get married when they are reasonably young. It's difficult to get an advanced education then--with a family--the children are an added expense. People still hold the view that the man is the main wage earner and the wife must play second fiddle to his career. If there is time and energy left over, then she can go back to school."

Nevertheless, fifteen women in the present study perceived a trend toward greater alternatives for females. They felt that parents were now encouraging their female as well as their male children to choose among a wide variety of occupations in their adult life. Some thought that the school system was also "progressive" in this area. For example, one lecturer in the faculty of education spoke of the "sexism" in the schools in the past: "Recently, there has been more awareness of sexism, especially the sex-typing of activities, in the schools." She implied that an awareness of the problem would lead to its eventual elimination.

Two young doctoral students, one in the faculty of science and one in the faculty of medicine, spoke of the "great increase" in female graduate students. An assistant professor in law felt that the proportion of female law students was "between ten and twenty per cent." It is actually less than ten per cent (Institutional Research and Planning Office, June 1974). Further examples of optimism for the future of sex inequalities are delineated below.

An older associate professor in the faculty of education mentioned: "The major elementary classes are taught by women, which orients the child toward the stereotype of the woman teacher. But this is changing--more males are now interested in elementary school teaching."

An assistant professor in the faculty of physical education stated: "[Female] stereotypes do exist, but I don't think that they are a deterrent for women. There are so many other factors or variables that are more important [she did not elaborate]. I don't think women internalize societal values to the extent that people think. Besides, times [and stereotypes] are changing."

A young doctoral student in the faculty of medicine indicated that: "The socialization of girls was such that it never occurred to them to have careers. But values are changing. In the next few years, there will be an increase in the number of women university professors." She felt that in science "Things are made very easy for women wanting to enter the field. . . . It's now wide open for women."

These fifteen optimistic women felt that altering the patterns of socialization would lead to dramatic changes in the plight of women academics, with little consideration of necessary changes in the structure of the professions. In other words, they saw women's position within the profession not as a situation in which women are discriminated against because of the "threat" they pose for their male colleagues, but as a simple case of a different emphasis in upbringing.

We feel that attributing the lower status of women to differential socialization is a naive conception of reality, and that the problem is far more complex than many women were willing to admit. Women's participation in higher learning and in the labour force has followed definite cycles, so that in times of need they have formed a reserve labour force. In times of labour surplus, women's participation in the labour force was restricted. Further, there have been definite discriminatory policies against women. For example, nepotism rules have excluded a large proportion of qualified women from academic posts. Quotas in professional schools have restricted the admission of females. Informal understandings concerning the hiring of married women, especially those with young children, have largely omitted these people from certain areas of the labour force. Lack of perception of these variables which affect the status of women seems extremely naive.

The structure of academia--among other factors such as socialization--has been shown in the present study to exclude women academics from access to bargaining power and certain professional rewards. The next section will summarize some of the findings in this area.

The Structure of the Academic Profession

Unlike his predecessor (Rofstadter and Metzger, 1955), the modern university professor is pre-eminently an expert who seeks a large degree of autonomy from lay control and normal organizational control (Clark, 1966: 285). Although these ideals are not always attained, especially since the continuing trend toward large provincial universities in this country, these remain ideals which can be more easily realized due to the lack of public accountability in the policies of many Canadian universities.[1] As the university has "moved from a unitary to a composite structure, from a single to a multiple systems of values, from general to specialized work, it has moved away from the characteristics of "community," away from a "community of scholars" (Clark, 1966: 286).

Clark sees academia as a place where strong forces cause the growth of some individuals into centres of power (1966: 289). Some of these sources of personal power include intense specialization, so that few can judge the merit of intensely specialized work. He also views the modern professor as an "entrepreneur" in his new role as researcher, scholar, and consultant dealing with sizeable research grants.

The personal authority of the professional expert further increases as a consequence of the competitiveness of the job market. Having another job to go to can be a source of bargaining power (Clark, 1966; Caplow and McGee, 1958).

Due to the proliferation of sub-specialties within disciplines which are themselves becoming increasingly narrow, faculty organization and authority has become more segmented now than in the past and somewhat more individualized (Clark, 1966: 290). Moreover, the development of large publicly financed universities creates a greater need to protect the autonomy of the separate disciplines and of the individual faculty members.

It is precisely this structure of personal authority and emphasis on the autonomy of the individual faculty member which works to the disadvantage of female academics, as well as of men with a smaller appetite for power. Women frequently lack the aggressiveness and the encouragement to bargain for research grants. They lack the status and the prestige gained from high salary and rank to accumulate consulting positions and outside requests for their expertise. They frequently lack the geographic mobility to bargain for a better position. The female faculty member is consequently disadvantaged to a greater extent than in other bureaucratic structures, such as the school system or government work, where authority lines are clear-cut and promotion depends less on the recommendation of peers.

Additionally, the tradition of academia has favoured male professors and has reflected class biases and the distribution of power in the larger society. The exclusion of women from universities until the latter part of the nineteenth century led to the development of "rules of the game" designed essentially for men. For example, anti-nepotism rules have until recently virtually excluded faculty wives from full-time positions in the same university in which their husbands were employed. Lack of maternity leave in universities has made child-bearing very difficult to co-ordinate with employment, discouraging some women from entering academia and others from returning. Lack of day-care facilities have made raising children a constant problem for the working women. Domestic responsibilities have hampered the careers of most married women. Consequently, professional women have not stayed in academia to any great extent. When they did, they were likely to remain single; and if married, to have no or few children.

Another structural barrier which affects women, among others, is the lack of part-time degrees in Canadian universities. Although it is becoming increasingly possible to pursue an undergraduate degree on a part-time basis, graduate work generally must be done on a full-time basis in this country. Since a large proportion of part-time students are women (Royal Commission, 1970: 169), discouraging part-time study essentially means discouraging women students.

The women who were interviewed for the present study sometimes commented on the fact that the university is a "man's world." This was indicated in some detail in Chapter Five and again in Chapter Seven. One woman in the faculty of law commented: "They [her colleagues] don't accept women in this profession. *Women have to prove themselves* and be better than men. It is accepted that women *can* do well in court, but not equally as well as men. In this respect, the profession has not changed for two hundred years."

An older professional officer in the faculty of medicine stated: "*The university started out as a male club*, but it's gradually breaking down." An assistant professor in the social sciences mentioned that "*The university is a male-dominated society*. There is a lot of prejudice against women--they think that they are going to get married and leave and, if single, they think that there is something 'wrong' with them."

These comments from the interviews indicate some perception of structural problems for women operating in a situation defined by men. However, not only women would experience problems within such a structure but also men with custody of their children, men without an unpaid assistant at home, men who cannot be "aggressive," and other minority group members who are subject to prejudicial attitudes.

In the next section, we have shown that structural barriers to the advancement of academic women are only a part of the problems which women experience. More serious, perhaps, are the incidences of subtle discrimination. A number of women in the interviews mentioned that women are not expected to be highly professional researchers--just good teachers. Another woman mentioned that female graduate students are tolerated but not encouraged. An ex-home economics major was asked to decorate the staffroom in her faculty. Several women mentioned that male colleagues frequently asked them why they worked--why they did not let their husbands support them?

It was comments such as these which the majority of women in the study would admit were psychological barriers to women academics. These comments upset the younger women to a greater extent than the older ones who had learned a number of defence mechanisms to counter them. These discriminatory processes within academia were considered by the women in the study to be very difficult to eliminate, and were often perceived as something they had to learn to live with.

Discriminatory Process in Academia

To discuss the academic profession as a system of roles, norms, and regulations would not be doing justice to the subtle slights or discriminatory practices which affect the careers of female academics. The actual processes of the profession may have a far more profound effect on the careers of women and minority group members than any set of governing rules.

The results of the interviews indicate that most of the problems reported by women academics are neither the result of discriminatory *policies* nor conscious discrimination on the part of male colleagues towards women. Rather, they are "errors of omission," such as the unconscious exclusion of women from certain prestigious committees; or the quick assumption that if a woman is at home, she is not working' or that if a woman takes time off to bear children, she is "uncommitted." However, because these acts treat women differently than men and put women in a disadvantaged position, they can still be referred to as "discrimination."

Twenty-five women in the interviews commented upon the discriminatory practices working against women in academia. One of the reasons given by an associate professor in education for the lack of female professors was "The hiring practices of ten years ago--they would hire a man in preference to a woman. However, this is changing. These discriminatory practices still enter in, but *now they* [administrators] *fear the result of discriminating*."

A professional officer in science indicated, "Academics don't encourage women in the sciences. . . . It lurks in the backs of their minds that women are going to pull out--"They are not serious scientists," they say. This [attitude] is reflected in funny little ways, such as referring to the female scientists as "the girls."

A doctoral student in the faculty of medicine referred to the "vicious circle" preventing women from becoming university professors. She stated, "Few strive to get into higher education; and when they finally reach the profession, men hesitate to hire them. They think that they will get married or pregnant. It happened a lot of the time--so the attitude was justified in certain circumstances. Prejudices were created and this led to more problems for these women just coming in."

One woman, who is a lecturer in the faculty of education, pointed out several instances of "sexism" in the school system. She said that textbooks are stereotyped, portraying men and women in very traditional roles, and that activities are sometimes segregated or stereotyped. She further mentioned a visiting professor who spoke to a group of teacher trainees and looked at the one man in the class, ignoring the six women, when he spoke of opportunities in administration. This woman feels that there is more awareness now of "sexism" than there was several years ago and that things are slowly changing.

Ten women felt that the lack of women in the academic profession was caused and perpetuated by a number of factors which interacted with each other. Socialization processes set the aspirations of young girls on lower and different horizons; the structure and discriminatory practices of academia favoured men rather than women; and the structure of the nuclear family divided the interests of women and allowed the household to run smoothly for the benefit of men.

In the next section, we have drawn some conclusions about how the domestic responsibilities which married women in our society generally have interfere with the requirements for a professional occupation. We have indicated that if academic women want to improve their professional status basic changes in the division of labour within the family will be essential.

Domestic Responsibilities

Recently, there has been much discussion about the close connection between women's "liberation" and the abolition of the monogamous family (D. E. Smith, 1973; Leacock, 1972). Frederick Engels (1884) had written that the separation of the family from the clan and the institution of monogamous marriage were the social expressions of private property, as the monogamous marriage afforded the means through which property could be individually inherited. As private property for some meant none for others, the emergence of the family as an economic unit dominated by the male was associated with the development of classes (Leacock, 1972: 41). As wealth increased, the position of men in the family became stronger than the position of women, and presumably led to the strengthening of inheritance through the male line.

Leacock, in the introduction to Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, states that despite basic differences between the oppression of women and the oppression of Blacks, there are marked parallels of both an economic and a social-psychological nature--

not to mention the fact that half of the Black people are women (1972: 45). Leacock feels that the monogamous family as an economic unit is at the heart of women's subjugation and that middle class men and women should attempt to unite with working class people to oppose the holders of power.

It is interesting to compare this position with that of Talcott Parsons,[2] in an early discussion of age and sex roles. He states:

> The majority of married women, of course, are not employed, but even of those that are a very large portion do not have jobs which are in basic competition for status with those of their husbands. The majority of "career" women. . . are unmarried, and in the small proportion of cases where they are married the result is a profound alteration in the family structure (1942: 608-09; underlining added).

Parsons obviously thinks that an alteration in the structure of the nuclear family would be undesirable. He generally views the feminine role in North American society as one that enables the man to pursue an occupation outside the family. Women undertake the preparation of meals, housecleaning, care of children, and generally assist the husband in his career.

However, it is this very pattern of role differentiation within the nuclear family that is the most detrimental to the development of any abilities or potentialities that women may have. Those women in the present study who have devoted a good deal of their lives to husbands and children are defined as "unsuccessful" in their occupational lives. After the age of fifty, they are still occupying a sessional position or have the rank of assistant professor. Although these women frequently state that their careers are not very important to them, one gets the distinct impression that maintaining the traditional roles in the family is inimical to having a "successful" career in academia.

With respect to the present division of labour in the family, one married full professor in the humanities, who was nearing retirement age, mentioned: "The older generation of academic women didn't get married because they thought it would be too difficult to combine their careers and marriage. I got married and solved it afterwards." It should be noted that this woman has a very "untraditional" marriage. When she was in her fifties, she went to Toronto for four years to study towards her doctoral degree. Her husband stayed in the West and taught university. She also chose to remain childless and always attempted to remain independent of her husband. She stated succinctly that "Much of women's present day problems revolve around living in isolation in suburbia. Suburban wives are expendable housekeepers."

Margaret Benston felt that, because women are a group who work outside the money economy in a society in which money determines value, they have an inferior status. Only when the private production of household work is converted into public production is the "emancipation" of women possible. As an economic unit, the nuclear family is a valuable stabilizing force in a capitalist society. She continues:

> Since the production which is done in the home is paid for by the husband-father's earnings, his ability to withhold his labor from the market is much reduced. Even his flexibility in changing jobs is limited. The woman, denied an active place in the market, has little control over the conditions that govern her life. Her economic dependence is reflected in emotional dependence, passivity, and other "typical" female personality traits. She is conservative, fearful, supportive of the status quo (Benston, 1969).

The history of women in the industrialized sector of the economy has depended on the labour needs of that sector. Women function essentially as a reserve labour force. However, housework remains at all times the responsibility of women. Even when they are working outside the home, they usually retain responsibility for the maintenance of the household.

Eichler (1973) feels that Benston underplays the participation of women in the money economy and the extent to which housework has been industrialized. Although she states that Benston's definition of women as "that group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with home and family" (Benston, 1969: 13) is "a significant advance over other designations of women such as caste or class . . . it is faulty when applied to all women" (Eichler, 1973: 42).

Eichler refers to the two related statuses of women: an independent status from paid employment and a derived status from her husband's occupational position. She points out that in our society women are concerned about keeping their independent status below their derived status. This is exemplified by the fact that married professional women will wish for lower salaries than their husbands have (Eichler, 1973: 46).

There is an indication from the interviews that women retain the responsibility for organizing household tasks even when they share the actual tasks with their husbands. In the present study, only three of the twenty-two married women stated that they shared the responsibility of organizing the household with their husbands. Nineteen stated that they carried this responsibility alone.

With respect to household tasks, eleven women mentioned that their husbands "helped" with the housework. Eight women mentioned that they employed a cleaning lady and two stated that they had a housekeeper. Thirteen women who were married had no paid household assistance.

Seventeen of the twenty-six women who had been married at some time during their lives have children. With respect to child care arrangements, ten women indicated that they employed someone to care for their children and seven stayed at home while the children were young. A babysitter was the most frequently used type of child care.

The findings of the present study indicate that academic women are less likely to have children, as Bernard (1964) also found. Secondly, more than half of the women with children are paying someone to care for their children. But they are more likely to use "mother substitutes," such as nurses, mothers, babysitters, than day-care centres. Only one woman mentioned that she took her child to a nursery school, and this woman was an assistant professor under the age of thirty. She mentioned that there was pressure on her by parents and other women because they felt that she should not be working full-time while her child was so young.

In other words, while many academic women are unwilling to stay at home with their own children, they have retained the idea that a child is best cared for within a family situation. But this attitude can be partly explained by the fact of the shortage of day-care facilities and by the fact that priority is often given to working class mothers and single-parent families, which means that academic women do not always have these facilities at their disposal. Only one woman, who had no children herself, mentioned that this perpetuation of paying women the minimum wage to do "undesirable" work would hinder the "liberation" of women. This older full professor in the humanities firmly stated that "total reform" is needed in this area. "I don't believe in using other people to advance my own career. Someone has to look after the children, if people insist on wanting the individual family situation and the individual right to work. You can't have both. That would be social suicide. I would prefer a socialist state in which child care was a social rather than family responsibility."

We feel that this woman has a valid point. Converting the production of goods and services now carried out in the home to socialized forms of production--rather than for private profit outside the home--would remove the tremendous burden of household and domestic responsibility which interfers so definitely with the careers of women.

In summary, these four factors--traditional assumptions and roles for women, the structure of academia, the processes of academic and professional life, and the traditional division of labour within the nuclear family--all perpetuate the lower status of women within the academic profession. Manifestations of women's lower status are far simpler to discern than causes of the problem. Many factors interact, including the abovementioned ones, to place women in this inferior position. Despite the fact that anti-discrimination policies have been formulated in recent years, it is my opinion that changes in the status of women will come about only slowly. Several hundred years of tradition are involved in attempts to modify the university as a structure.

Women in University Teaching--Some Conclusions

The main focus of this study has been to view academic women in predominantly male departments of a Canadian university as a "minority group." We have used "awareness of their disadvantaged position" as the most important defining characteristic of a minority group. However, occupying a lower status and being under-represented numerically are also defining characteristics.

Generally, we concluded that the majority of the women in the sample felt that women as a group were in a disadvantageous position in the academic profession and felt that improvement was necessary in the status of academic women. However, they were either afraid to speak out for change or unaware of the source of the trouble. Consequently, few women interviewed were actively involved in working to improve the lot of their female colleagues.

One of the contributing factors of the minority group status of academic women is the ideology of "merit hiring" by which particularistic standards and discriminatory practices are disguised. Because "merit" is rarely defined, its precise referent is seldom stated. Traditional assumptions about the abilities of females and of their familial roles prevent them from being viewed as "competent" when compared to a similarly qualified male.

A second contributing factor to the minority group status of academic women is the inconsistency between the traditional female role and the traditional role of the academic. If the cultural stereotype of the feminine person includes dependence, emotionality, modesty, and passivity, then traditional women are not going to make very acceptable university professors. The role requirements for this occupation include such characteristics and skills as confidence in one's own abilities and knowledge, a willingness to "profess" new ideas and to be challenged, and aggressive seeking of research funds. Although we realize that not all Canadian males are socialized to fit these role requirements, the probability of females qualifying for this occupation--given trends in socializing females--is even less. Consequently, most academic women in this sample were "atypical" females. Because they were more aggressive, intellectual, and ambitious than women are "supposed to be" in our society, they sometimes experiences role conflict and anxiety.

Women in university teaching are confronted with similar problems to women in the labour force generally. Women, as well as men, are expected to play certain roles in society. Because men are expected to play a more "instrumental" role in North America, they are denied access to certain emotional, or expressive, outlets. Women are presumed to play an expressive role and are trained from childhood to do so. When placed in an instrumental position such as lecturing or carrying out research, many women feel that they lack the self-confidence and aggressiveness to be "successful." Further, as the definitions of success are defined by the male majority in the profession, to be successful women must attempt to "play by men's rules."

University teaching is an occupation which requires long and careful preparation, a lot of perseverance, self-reliance, and independent work. Although the actual number of hours involved in teaching are usually few, much study and preparation are needed to maintain a viable career. It also involves sponsorship and visible mobility.

At the point when mobility and time are so crucial for acquiring a position and making valuable contacts in the field, women are often entering marriage and bearing children. Child care facilities are often difficult to find and sometimes expensive. Additionally, the responsibility for child care as well as for the maintenance of the household frequently falls on the shoulders of the women.

One of the consequences of this division of labour for academic women is the avoidance of marriage or remaining childless if married. Thirteen women of the thirty-nine in the study have never been married. Of the twenty-six who have been married, eight have remained childless. Because the structure of academia is such that accommodations are not made for women's unique biological position, women who want to have both career and family will often choose another work environment such as government employment. Here, the hours are more regular, and maternity benefits are frequently provided. Those women who do embark on an academic career often feel that they have to make a choice between family and career.

In a society like Canada's, where our cultural values dictate that a man should have more formal education than a woman in any relationship, the marriage market shrinks for women with each year of higher education. Whereas a man is enhancing his position with the opposite sex by obtaining a doctoral degree, a woman frequently places herself in an ambiguous position.

Although these attitudes are changing somewhat, the pressures are still strong enough to keep women out of university, particularly graduate schools. Until women are encouraged to make long-term career plans, there will be a shortage of female graduate students and thus of university teachers. Until stereotypes concerning characteristics of working women are proven invalid--by 'successful' women--those women who do choose careers will be operating at a disadvantage. Constantly being confronted with stereotypical expectations, their occupational progress and productivity will undoubtedly suffer.

But what has become increasingly evident throughout this research project is the fact that women are caught in a "vicious circle." If they accept their societal expectations and roles for women, they lost out on the rewards granted to those successful in occupational careers--high salaries, prestige, autonomy, and personal satisfaction. If they reject prevalent definitions of "femininity" and strive for a professional career, they are labelled as "aggressive," "castrating," or "unprofessional"--and must constantly come to grips with resentment and opposition from their male colleagues.

Professional women--especially university professors--are further caught between two contradictory value systems. They occupy a marginal position in a male dominated profession, both in terms of power and acceptance. Yet, because they are committed to a professional job which occupies much of their time, they are unable to fit easily into the life-styles of the majority of females in our culture. Therefore, these women occupy a position of marginality, being neither typical females nor typical professionals.

Although originally the question of female marginality appears to be an individual question, the "social costs" which arise from it are apparent both in the home and in the occupational world.

However, women will have to be willing to accept a certain degree of personal conflict in an attempt to solve these problems: a willingness to bear criticism from other people; a willingness to give up their positions of dependency and support; and a willingness to stand alone. All these are necessary if women are to reach the point where they will build their self-confidence on something other than a love relationship.

Not only will women themselves have to undergo profound changes to bring about an increase in women's contributions to professional occupations, but also the family structure will have to be altered. The present conjugal family with its emphasis on intense personal relationships and a strict division of labour is frequently the breeding grounds for neuroses. This is particularly the case if the wife and mother is expected to gain her status and personal identity through the accomplishments of her husband and children.

The need to keep women in the home arises from two major aspects of the present system. First, the amount of unpaid labour performed by women is very large and profitable to those who own the means of production (Benston, 1969). To alter this division of labour would imply a massive redistribution of wealth. Second, it is questionable as to whether the economy could expand enough to encompass all women as paid workers. So long as the present structure of society exists, women remain a convenient and exploitable part of the reserve labour force. Consequently, vast structural changes in North American society would be necessary before the exploitation of women would cease.

The problem of women's status is not just a women's problem. It is a human and philosophical one. It involves the redefinition of masculinity and femininity, changing an age-old division of labour, attacking basic values in our society--such as the importance of "mother-love." It means that men will have to relinquish certain powerful positions and women will have to accept new responsibilities.

While changing the relative position of women involves personal decisions, it also necessitates collective action. Until women themselves feel strongly enough about the importance and the urgency of fighting to change their lower status, the power structure within academia will relegate women to a peripheral position.

Only recently is there evidence that women within the universities are aware of their powerlessness and are willing to at least form committees, task forces, and women's associations to further investigate their position. Only recently has the opposition from male faculty subsided enough for women to convince each other that the task is worthwhile. But until women use their associations for political action--to attempt to force change--they remain in the traditional category of parapolitical "ladies' clubs."

Recommendations for Future Research

The value of the present study lies largely in the questions that it has raised but has been unable to answer adequately. From the analysis of the thirty-nine case histories, we can make only tentative conclusions. But insights have been uncovered which may encourage other researchers to continue research in this field.

We have centred on five major questions which merit further investigation. First, what is the effect of female role models on the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of girls? Second, to what extent do sex differences exist in the sponsorship of graduate students? Third, why is the rate of non-marriage and marriage breakdown so high among academic women? Fourth, could men within a female dominated occupation or discipline be perceived as a "minority group"; do they have the same characteristics as women in a male dominated field? And finally, do women in female dominated fields experience the same sort of discrimination and role conflict as do women in a predominantly male occupation?

Each of these questions will be treated separately in the following section.

Effects of Role Models on the Aspirations of Females

The present study has indicated that the presence or absence of suitable role models is a crucial variable in the career decisions of professional women. Two types of role models appeared in the comments of the women who were interviewed.

The first type of role model was a person, usually of the same sex, who influenced the subject's career by encouraging her to pattern her life after hers. This was not always conscious encouragement. But the subject attempted to emulate that person because she admired her. Role models of this type are usually mothers, teachers, or professors. Female professors have sometimes served as "mentors" through graduate study, and as the relationship developed also became role models. Four women in the present study spoke of their thesis advisors in this capacity.

The second type of role model which seemed to have been present in the lives of the women in the study was a "negative" model. This was a person whome the subject saw to be in an unfavourable position, and made every effort to avoid that person's mistakes. About five women in the study mentioned that their mothers had served in this role--that they had gone to university and sometimes forfeited marriage because they didn't want to "end up like mother." Female professors who were considered to be "unsuccessful" also served the purpose of re-channelling the subject's career plans so that she avoided the mistakes of these less fortunate women.

Although the present study has vaguely indicated the presence of these two types of models, we cannot contribute any systematic data concerning the effect of the absence of role models on aspirations, the effect on female aspirations of less successful role models, or whether a woman who has a "positive" role model is likely to be more successful than one with a negative role model.

On the basis of the present study, we could hypothesize that because there are so few women in professional positions such as university teaching many women would use their educated mothers as role models. We also would hypothesize that women, to a greater extent than men, would use negative role models rather than positive ones. If this were the case, it may explain many of the incidences of role conflict among professional women. Because they have used another person as a model from which they are determined not to pattern their lives, they are "playing the situation by ear" rather than merely imitating someone else's life-style. For that reason, they are solving their own problems and inventing their own ways of coping. Consequently, they may feel that they are "deviant" to a greater extent than someone who is patterning her life after a "successful" person.

In addition to the lack of role models, and especially the lack of "successful" role models, there was some indication from the interviews that female graduate students are not sponsored as often or with the same intensity as male graduate students. This is another area which requires further investigation.

The Sponsorship of Female Graduate Students

In Chapter Five, we discussed the possible reluctance of male faculty members to develop a close working relationship with female graduate students. Because other people are likely to make assumptions about the nature of such a relationship between a man and a woman, many male faculty as well as female students will attempt to avoid such a relationship. But the paucity of female faculty members, particularly in graduate faculties, prevents female students from working to any great extent with females. Consequently, the student and faculty have to maintain a certain amount of "distance," or attempt to "counteract" gossip by having the student "overproduce."

In an attempt to keep the relationship between female graduate student and male mentor free from sexual implications, the student could avoid prolonged and social contact with the faculty member. However, this may mean that valuable advice and contacts are lost because the relationship remains more superficial than it normally would be. The lack of contact with the advisor may indicate to the faculty member that the student is not interested in getting to know the advisor, or uncommitted to the profession, or professionally unassertive. These perceptions may lead to less involvement with the student or less interest in the development of her career.

On the other hand, a close student-professor relationship occasionally does lead to a more personal relationship. In these cases, it sometimes happens that the faculty member applies more rigourous standards to this student to absolve himself and the student from any accusations of "getting her marks by going to bed with him."

These social strains generally do not arise between male students and male faculty. However, different problems of personality conflicts and professional jealousy may be just as problematic as the abovementioned sexual difficulties.

The present study has again touched on the significance of the sponsorship situation and has hinted that female students receive less intense sponsorship than male students. We have also indicated that being sponsored by a less prestigious female professor may not be as beneficial as being sponsored by a more prestigious male, even though possible sexual implications are removed.

We have been unable to make any statements about such important issues as the role of sponsorship in choosing the graduate school of the student, the effect of encouragement to publish and joint publications between sponsor and student on the student's career, the role of the sponsor in finding employment for the student, and the quality of the relationship in initiating the student into academia and assisting her to "feel the part" of an academic. These are issues which may prove to differentially affect males and females in graduate school. Lack of a close and meaningful relationship with a faculty member of the same sex may contribute to women's problems in striving for a position as university professor. It may also mean that female graduate students are not provided with the role models which they seem to need.

Marriage Breakdown among Academic Women

Another finding from the present study which requires additional investigation is the question of divorce and marriage breakdown among academic women. We have found that the initial marriage rate is very low among women in this occupation but that divorce is rather high among those who do marry. Bernard (1964) also reached this conclusion.

Although we cannot make any conclusive statements of this issue, we can tentatively say that many academic women perceive marriage and a career as mutually exclusive choices, as did the subjects of Komarovsky's research in 1946. As we indicated in Chapter Six, a number of women in the interviews mentioned that it was necessary to have one or the other--but not both. Many more women in the present study indicated that women can have both marriage and a career if they become very organized in their personal and professional lives and if they ignore the many social pressures acting upon them to choose between these alternatives.

We further noticed in the interview results that some women had received divorces from their husbands for what appeared to be 'career reasons." In other words, two of the husbands of the women in the interviews objected to their wives working. Because the women were so determined to learn and to use their knowledge in a work situation, a divorce resulted. Another woman left her husband because nepotism rules prevented them from working at the same university, and he originally was not willing to move. Two other incidents of marriage breakdown in the present study seem to have been precipitated by the fact that the wife had a "strong" personality and was highly motivated to have a professional career. Their husbands could not see their wives in this position of independence.

The present study did not go into any detail on causes of academic marriage breakdown, as it was not considered originally to be a significant issue. However, after thirty-nine case histories were gathered, it was concluded that this was indeed one area in which further investigation is essential. Bernard (1964) had concluded that there was "something inimical" between marriage and academic work for women. Divorce may bring women back into professional jobs if they left them upon marriage, or the marriages of academic women may be much less stable than those of academic men and the general public (Bernard, 1964: 216).

Some indications of reasons for the high degree of marriage instability have been found in the present study. Through domicile laws, married women lack the mobility that is essential for a viable career in academia. Women may have to choose between living with their husbands and having a less developed career or leaving their husbands for a better academic position.

Nepotism rules have largely interrupted the careers of those academic women who are married to academic men. The present study indicated that a large proportion of married academic women are in this position. However, as nepotism rules have been relaxed more recently, this is becoming less of a problem for younger academic couples.

Intellectual competition may be another factor leading to marriage breakdown among academic women. If men are socialized to desire a wife who stays home and maintains the household, cares for children, and assists her husband's career, a wife who breaks this pattern may be perceived as a problem. Especially in cases where the wife's competence is accepted as being above the level of the husband's could the question of intellectual competition and jealousy arise. In a society which treats as "normal" a situation in which the wife has less education than her husband and defers to his career ambitions and transitions, the wife who strives to develop a career which is as important as any man's is considered "over-ambitious." Consequently, problems could arise in the marital situation. Additionally, the woman in this situation may be perceived as "giving up her femininity" by aggressively seeking to establish herself in academia.

It is evident that the present study can only give impressionistic conclusions with respect to marriage breakdown among academic women. This could, in fact, be the central question of an entire research project. As yet, several authors have approached the topic but few have systematically studied it.

Men and Women Professionals in a Female-Dominated Field

Another possibility for future research is the role of both male and female professionals within traditionally "female" fields. Do men in such a field develop "minority group characteristics" as do women in a traditionally "male" field? Do women have as many problems in a professional occupation in which they are numerically the majority? These question have not been adequately answered because they were beyond the scope of the present study. Neither have previous studies directed their attention to these topics.

From the results of the interviews and from previous studies, we would suggest that men in a "female" field would "drift to the top." There has been some indication that when men are admitted to fields which have been dominated by females in the past they have assumed supervisory roles or positions of power (Perrucci, 1970). For example, male elementary school teachers are reputed to more easily acquire positions as vice-principals, male librarians positions as chief librarians, male college professors in a women's college positions as chairmen of the department. In fact, female institutions have been known to accept male candidates to "upgrade their image." In other words, although males in a female-dominated field still may be left out of the informal networks, they are over-represented in positions of decision-making power and therefore would not be a minority group.

On the other hand, women within a traditionally "female" field may be in a "better" position than their sisters in a male-dominated field, but may be less likely to acquire leadership positions than men in the same field. Women in "female" fields may experience fewer problems of being accepted by colleagues, their competence is probably challenged less by students, but in some ways they would still have minority group characteristics.

The problems of married working women would presumably be similar regardless of the occupation. Legal constraints would remain. General assumptions about the lower prestige level of females may affect the salaries that women within these fields would earn. For example, those fields which have been dominated numerically by females have often received lower remuneration. Women in "female" fields would still be subject to prejudices about women by both sexes. They would still be operating within an occupational world which makes few allowances for women's biological situation. Finally, they would still be operating in a society in which the division of labour is set up in such a way as to facilitate the work lives of men and in which women are socialized to plan for marriage and a family rather than a career.

Thus, it is hypothesized that women within "female" fields would have many of the same problems as women within a predominantly male field. However, as none of our interviews were carried out in such a female field, more research is necessary before any conclusive comments can be made.

It becomes increasingly clearer that one research project necessitates another in order to clarify issues which have been significant but peripheral to the first study. Although we have been able to make some very tentative statements about the minority group characteristics and attitudes of academic women, we have also raised a number of questions which will hopefully inspire other students of the "sociology of women" to investigate in more detail.

Recommendations for Future Action

In addition to suggestions for future research, we feel that some recommendations for action should be briefly made. As a result of this research, we are now aware of several areas which have proven to be problematical for a number of women. In these areas, changes are essential if the status of women in the university is to improve.

The first change that is necessary within the structure of academia is to remove anti-nepotism rules and regulations against hiring the department's own graduates. These rules have been shown to work against the interests of "faculty wives" by defining them in relation to their husbands rather than on their own merit. They also default married women who are forced to remain in the same city or town as their husbands' occupations.

However, we would also like to see some changes in the realm of domicile laws. Although many women would still be reluctant to move to a different location that their husbands to find employment, it should not be classified as "desertion" if they are forced to do so. Further, if the wife's career was considered to be as important as the husband's career in our society, the wife would not be so reluctant to take advantage of employment opportunities.

We would also like to see the universities provide maternity leave with partial pay for all female employees, with retention of all former fringe benefits. The present employment insurance coverage of maternity leave is not adequate to cover the needs of female university employees. At the present time, the granting of maternity leave seems to be up to the individual department chairmen, some of whom are not sympathetic to pregnant employees. Women must not have to fear losing their positions and seniority by taking a leave of absence for childbearing.

In addition to changing nepotism rules, regulations against hiring the department's graduates, and improving maternity benefits for women, we feel that the "Affirmative Action Program" should be supported by Canadian universities. We realize that the present issue of hiring Canadians may be overshadowed by such a policy, but would support government as well as professional policy to hire Canadian women in universities, provided that they had the necessary academic qualifications. In addition to such a policy, we feel that some inducement to abide by its edicts could be provided in the form of withdrawal of funding.

Perhaps as important as removing restrictions to the employment of women in academic positions and creating policies to encourage their appointment, female students need to be strongly encouraged to continue their studies and generally raise their aspirations. Although it is debatable that once in the system these women will be able and willing to change it, we feel that unless women are encouraged to take on formerly "male" roles there will be no equality of opportunity within the system. Not that we would attempt to make women like men in their ambitions, characteristics, and career patterns--because male roles are superior--but because it is felt that women must assume more public responsibility in all aspects of society.

On the other hand, we would additionally suggest that males assume more responsibility within the domestic sphere--sharing those tasks which females frequently now perform on their own. If males were legally and socially held responsible for maintenance of the household and child care to the same extent as females and if females were equally responsible for financial support of the children, then women would have more time and energy to devote to occupational interests. What we are asking for are changes in family law to remove inequalities in role demands. Men could de-emphasize their occupational pursuits and financial interests and become more interested in personal relationships and family. Women could become more interested in occupational interests and less involved in family responsibilities.

In line with the above suggestion, we feel that it is necessary to improve child care facilities in this country to enable parents to be employed outside the home if they choose to. Facilities must be provided on a twenty-four hour basis and on an income-based fee. Both mother and father have to be equally responsible for making child care arrangements and transporting the child to the day-care centre.

And finally, the women within academia, and particularly the "successful" ones, are going to have to realize that they obtained their present position through a number of fortunate circumstances--their parents'class position, their husbands' support, their professors' encouragement, faculty sponsorship--as well as their own efforts. Not all women have these benefits and advantages. Women have to view each other as allies rather than competitors and join together in political action if changes are to be made in academia. Changes have to be fought for and sometimes forced upon male academics and unsympathetic female academics. This will take a lot of courage and persistence but is essential if changes are to be made. Perhaps what needs to be done right now is to convince other academics that women are in a disadvantageous position and that inequality of opportunity presently exists.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight

[1] As Canadian universities increasingly depend on public funds, "public accountability" becomes more of an issue. Making university education more "relevant" to trends in the labour force has been resisted in this country, and community colleges have been developed within the past ten years to serve this function.

[2] Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review 7, 1942: 604-16.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN ACADEMICS STUDY

(Brief comment on the nature and purpose of the study)

Background Information

Faculty Department

Areas of Specialization

Type of Appointment Rank

Highest Earned Degree

When

Where

Date of Birth

Marital Status

Does husband have a university position (specify)--

Husband's occupation (if non-professorial)--

Children--number

Ages

Teaching Load this session--____________hours/week. Usual load--

List courses--

Publications--

Committee membership this year--

Past years--

Educational Experiences

Ask about secondary education (where)--

Aspirations of parents for daughter--(occupations of parents,
especially mother)

Other siblings and occupations--

Plans to go to university--(why, reactions of family, peers)

Decision to go to graduate school--

Reactions from:

- Parents--
- Friends--
- Professors--
- Husband/Boyfriend--

Financing Education--(source of funds, scholarships, etc.)

Length of Time in Graduate School

- Continuous--
- With a break--(reasons)

Feelings about Future Career Possibilities

Other Employment Experience--(Details)--

First Academic Appointment

Where-- Rank--

Any assistance finding job?

Type of Appointment--

Satisfaction with job in terms of:

Rank--

Location--

Salary--

Work Load--

Colleagues--

Promotion [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] colleagues--

General satisfaction with present position--

[illegible]--

[illegible] to bring advancement--

[illegible]

Personal Life.

A. For those who are married or co-habiting.

Who takes the major responsibility for organizing the household?

Child care arrangements (if applicable)

How does marriage and/or having children affect your career?

B. For all women.

Do you feel that women have any special disabilities as university teachers? (Probe--problems that men do not have in the same job.)

Opinions of hiring preference being given to an equally-qualified woman or minority group member. (Affirmative Action Program)

Opinions of Anti-nepotism rules.

Opinions about regulations prohibiting the hiring of the university's own graduates.

Any affiliations with any women's organizations.

When would you consider yourself to be "successful" in your career, by your own definitions of success? Are you successful now? What is your definition of successful?

Are there any differences in the criteria of success of men and women in academia? Do they value different things in their jobs?

Why aren't there more women faculty in Canadian universities?